A. 1841

NARRATIVE

Of the *Proceedings* of the

COMMISSIONERS

Appointed by

O. Cromwell,

For *EJECTING*

Scandalous and Ignorant *MINISTERS.*

In the Case of *Walter Bushnell* Clerk, *Vicar* of *Box* in the County of *Wilts.*

WHEREIN IS SHEWED

That both *Commissioners*, *Ministers*, *Clerk*, *Witnesses* have acted as unjustly even as was possible for Men to do by such a Power: and all under the pretence of

Godliness and *Reformation.*

Thou shalt not raise, or receive a false report, Exod. 23. 1.

Si falsus testis perit qui injuratus testimonium dicit (--) Deut. 19 16. ad 21. *Quid nostris, qui jurati testimonum dicunt, fiet? Et si falsus testis perit, quid judici iniquo obveniet?* Cartw. in Prov. 21. 28.

Printed for *R. Clavell* at the *Stags-head* in S. *Pauls* church yard, 1680.

August

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

To the Honorable

Sir *Anthony Aſhlie-Cooper*,
Knight and Baronet,

And

John Earnly, Eſq;

Knights of the *Shire* for the *County of Wilts*: As alſo to the Honorable the *Citizens* and *Burgeſſes* returned for this preſent *Parliament* for the reſpective *City* and *Burroughs* of the ſame County.

Renowned Gent.

I Am not ſo ſhort-ſighted, but that I foreſee to what exceptions, and cenſures I expoſe my ſelf, both by *publiſhing* ſuch a Diſcourſe as *this*, at ſuch a *time* as *this*; as likewiſe, that I ſhou'd ſo far imbolden my ſelf, as to prefix your *honored*

Names to the Dedication. As first it may be looked upon as a very unhandsome attempt (to give it no worse a word) in me to be *unseasonably* ripping up old sores, and out of some private *animosity*, to be blowing up those coals which I should cover, & kindling that fire which I should quench, at such a time, when as *all men* should *contend* for unity and concord; and *strive* who should be the forwardest to forget and forgive injuries, from the Command and Example of both our *God* and our *King*. As 2. it may be looked upon as a very great (if not an unpardonable) presumption in me, to present a discourse of such a Subject as this unto your *Honored selves*, whose utmost and unwearyed care hath been (and may it still continue to be so) to *compose* the desperate divisions, and to close up the even *mortal* wounds of our languishing both *Church* and *State*.

Be pleased therefore to hear my *Apology*, as well as my charge. For the first; I conceive it to be a *duty incumbent* upon *every man*, (and necessarily so) to *vindicate* (by wayes lawful and just) his own

reputa-

reputation, when it ſhall be groſly defamed, or notoriouſly ſlandered: otherwiſe all infamous reports would be taken for truths; by our ſilence we confeſſing our own guilt, and acknowledging both the truth of the charge, and the juſtice of that power which hath rendred us as ſcandalous. This being (as I humbly conceive) rationally premiſed, will be I believe as eaſily condeſcended unto: and then I ſhall take the boldneſs to add, that pure *Neceſſity* enforced me to this *Publication*. For ſo it was, that ſome of the *Commiſſioners*, *Miniſters*, *witneſſes*, and *others*, who have eaten my bread (belike thinking, that they had not yet enough undone me) *have*, and ſtill *do*, upon all opportunities offered, or ſought, *report* me to the world for ſuch a one, ſo *ſcandalous*, ſo *ignorant*, as altogether unfit either to return to mine own living or to be admited to any other: and that (whatever there might be wanting of *power* in them to *inflict* ſuch a ſentence on me, yet) there wanted not *crime* enough in me to *deſerve* it. In ſhort, they ſtand it out, in aſſerting their own juſtice and godlineſs, and

would have the world believe, that I am altogether such as they have labour'd to represent me to the world. Now the design of this *Narrative*, is to let the world know, that these *Commissioners* and *Ministers*, whom I shall name by and by, have been as *unjust* towards me, as they were *incompetent* in *Law*. And (beside, that their *Commission* was derived from an usurping power, and *Tyrannical*) that their Actings by that power were far more vile and odious, then their *Ordinance* gave them license unto.

And for the 2. That I make my Application to your *honored selves*: it was not only for this, because you are the worthy *Representatives* of that *County*, where these things were transacted, and so no doubt would be most ready to appear in the behalf of any one whose trust you have undertaken, so far forth as justice and equity were on his side: But also for this reason; because I have heard that some of those who have not done me the least wrong, have in a kind of menacing manner reported it, *That they would acquaint your Honorable Court with*

with the Depoſitions which were taken againſt me: Which ſhould they have done, I could expect no other from them but that they ſhould act after their old faſhion; and if ſo (conſidering the conditions of thoſe *Commiſſioners*, *Miniſters*, *Clerks*, *Witneſſes*, and how they had dealt with me before) they might have preſented me to the world, as a perſon notoriouſly infamous. Had the *Nobles* of *Jezreel*, that were his Judges, or the ſons of *Belial* that were the witneſſes againſt him, been the only reporters of the ſtory of *Naboth*; none would have ſaid that *Naboth* had been put to death unjuſtly. I have therefore preſum'd to publiſh to the world a report of their proceedings in my caſe, even as they were: tracing of them from day to day, from the firſt to the laſt; and all along keeping my ſelf ſo cloſe to that Copy of the *Depoſitions*, which I received from their *Clerk*, as that I have not willingly left out, altered or added ſo much as one word unto them. Beſide which (if you pleaſe to read this Narrative over, or but a few lines in my precautions to the Reader) you ſhall find

me charging them, both *Commissioners*, *Ministers*, and *Witnesses*, with such crimes which are not only odious in *men* as Christians; but with such, which were looked upon as vile and odious, by the more civil sort of Heathens. And yet I have not charged them with a syllable which I am not able by proofs to make good upon them. And now let them publish their Depositions, when, or present them to whom they please. I wish that they may present them to your *Honorable Court*: having a confidence, that there we shall find such Judges who are both wise and just. If they present the same which I here mention, (which were all I could get from their *Clerk*) you have here answers unto them. If they present other Depositions, those will be matter of charge against none, but themselves.

And here I cannot but wonder, that such men as, these should presume so far as to talk of acquainting this *honorable Court* with their proceedings; or indeed dare to think of *Parliaments* but with trembling, or expect any thing from them but

but punishment: since these very men (as to my business) then acted by that power, and were very zealous for that power, and were very bitter against those that did not own that power, as they would have them. (One of their chiefest Articles against me, being this, *That I was disaffected to the present Government*) when as it was by that present power (which they did then so much adore, and endeavoured so much to establish) That our late gracious *King* was so barbarously *murdered*, and his *Parliament ruined*. And when I said, I cannot but wonder at these men, my meaning is not only the *Commissioners*, but *Ministers* likewise: some whereof (if I have not been misinformed) have had it in their thoughts, to Petition your *Honorable Court*, that they might be confirmed in those Livings into which they unjustly intruded themselves; and as unjustly dispossest others of. These Intruders having been their Judges, or else having had some other hand in ejecting them; and their crimes published abroad for *infamous*, and called by the names of *Insufficiency*, or *Scandal*; when

when as the *greatest*, if not the *only scandal* was, that they would not be *Traitors*, or *ingage* themselves to *break* their Oaths, as many of them had done. What was this, but to Petition your *High Court* to confirm those wrongs and grievances which you came to redress? Nay more, what was it but to beseech your *Honors* to own and countenance that Power which had endeavoured the utter ruin of both *King* and *People*?

But your Heroick and matchless actings (for which our cheerful, although yet feeble Nation, doth honor and bless you) have I think, taken from some such their hopes, and from others their fears. Go on *Renowned Patriots*, go on. And here let my humble lines address themselves to *each Member* of your Honorable House: and not only so, but let me be pardoned my boldness, if I presume to knock at the door of the *other most Honorable* House likewise. My business is the same to both, it is but short, and a Petition, but not *To*, but *For* you. May all your *consultations* be such, as the great *God* may *bless*, and *prosper*. May they be for *him*,

for

for your *King*, and for your Countrey; the happiness of all which are so far from being *inconsistent* with each other, that they thrive the better for being *subordinate*. To your everlasting Honor, you have let the world see, *That the happiness of the whole, and of every member consists in this, that every one is restored unto, and injoyes his own.* And doubtless our good *God* meant it for a *signal* favour to you, not only that you were the *Instruments* whereby he wrought his wonders, nay even his *Miracles* for the deliverance of this Land; but that you should so *willingly*, so *speedily*, so *unanimously*, even *run* and *flie* upon this imployment, (and this it is which makes you the *happy* instruments) and with such haste bind up our wounds, that we may say, *That you have removed the Iniquity of the Land in one day.* And whereas it is usually seen, that those who are for *desolation* & *ruin*, make most haste; a single person in an hour overthrowing that, which many cannot repair in many dayes; it must be recorded to your Renown, that you, by your happy faculty in reparation, have far outgone

gone the pace of ruin: you having in a day rebuilt that ſtately fabrick of *Englands Monarchy*, which many a one for a long time have been pulling down. I ſhall add no more, but only this; He that with his *Pillar* of fire, and a Cloud, conducted *Moſes* and the *Iſraelites* through the Sea, was ever with them, and aſſiſted them to overcome the difficulties of the Wilderneſs. May the ſame *merciful power*, which at firſt *took you by the hand*, alwayes *lead* you on your wayes; that you may happily finiſh that great work which you have ſo ſucceſsfully begun, and made ſo fair a progreſs in. This ſhall be the dayly Prayer of

Your moſt humble

Jul. 24. 1660.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Servant

Gualt. Buſhnell.

To the Readers.

WHom I shall precaution in some few things. As 1. when they meet with the word Commissioners, they are not to understand me, as intending thereby all those Gentlemen whose names were put into the Ordinance; as charging them with those unworthy and unjust proceedings. Many whereof (as to my business) never acted; yea further, I desire them to know, that some of those who sometime acted, I do hereby acknowledge and report for Gentlemen of much Civility and Moderation. But the Commissioners and Ministers which I here speak of, are those that made ejecting of Ministers a kind of a Trade: And questionless to themselves it was a very beneficial one: such who were constant, and frequent, and furious in the business, and were these, Mr. Blisset,

Mr.

Mr. Thomas Bayly, *Mr.* Hunt *of* Marlborough, *and of the* Miniſters, *Dr.* Chambers, *Mr.* Byfield, *and one of* Marlborough, I *think they call him Mr.* Hughes. *Underſtand me to mean* theſe eſpecially; *when you meet with any hard words uttered againſt the* Commiſſioners, I *ſay* eſpecially; *for although* ſome others *acted to my prejudice, yet becauſe they never appeared but once, and then,* (*as it was conjectured*) *upon the ſolicitation of* theſe men, *according to whoſe influences they* acted, *I ſhall for the preſent, only point to them in the Margin.*

Mr. *Ludloe of Clavingdon.* *James Hely of Saxum.*

And theſe reſpective perſons I ſhall charge, *and make* good *this charge upon them.* 1. *The* Miniſters *that they were ever medling with that, which they had nothing to do withall. And* 2. *the* Commiſſioners *for often violating that* Ordinance *by which they ſate, and according to which they were to act, and that in many particulars. As in admitting and countenancing* ſuch *to ſwear,* (*if they appeared againſt me*) *which their* Ordinance *excepted againſt. In excluding* ſuch *witneſſes, if appearing for me,* (*yea after they had been ſworn*) *which*

by

by their Ordinance *they were to admit of*; *and at last making a* Peremptory *Order, That* such as would *might appear against me, but no more in my behalf. I charge them again for endeavouring to* suppress *many Informations which were taken upon Oath, and* discountenancing, interrupting, *and* thwarting *with many witnesses, who would have* depos'd *to the Infamy of their witnesses. And their* Clerk (*Mr.* Bliſſets *son*) *I charge for* entering *many Depositions by* halfs; *for* confounding *the Order in which they were taken; for* shuffling *up two Depositions into one; for* leaving *out very* material clauſes, *which might have been to my* behoof; *for endeavouring to* inſert *such words which the* Deponent *never ſpoke, which might have been to my* prejudice; *for leaving out in his* Copy *delivered to me, a* whole, *yea a very* material *Deposition, notwithstanding he had formerly taken it, together with the* ſubſcription *of the Deponent: And I charge them all,* Commiſſioners, Miniſters, Clerk, *for* countenancing *and* incouraging infamous *persons, ſuch who had* forſworn *themſelves, and* touching ſome *of* themſelves, *in their hearing.*

Such

Such as appeared out of malice *by their own confeſſion, and were proved guilty of* ſuborning, *and of being* ſuborned, *to their faces: Yea, and* ſuch *as we ſhould have proved guilty of* forgery *likewiſe, had not theſe* Commiſſioners *and* Miniſters *by a* notorious piece *of* injuſtice *prevented it: ſo that poſſibly the* Readers *may ſay, that they have met with a ſtory ſomewhat like to that of* Naboth. *Such* Judges, *ſuch* Witneſſes, *ſuch a* ſentence, *and ſuch a* Malefactor: *The* Judges, *although moſt* unjuſt, *yet pretending not only to* Juſtice, *but* Piety *likewiſe. The witneſſes moſt* infamous, *and yet* countenanced *and* made uſe *of by theſe Judges, although they* knew *them to be* ſuch. *And* (although *the ſentence be not altogether the ſame, yet) the* Malefactors *crime being either the* witneſſes malice, *or elſe that he* held *ſomething which they were* ſick *for. Theſe things being premiſed by way of Caution, I take my leave.*

Gualt. Buſhnell.

THE TRANSACTIONS at the time when first I appeared before the COMMISSIONERS sitting at the *Bear* in *MARLBURROUGH*, *FEBRUARY* 14. 1655.

BY *vertue of an Ordinance of* OLIVER *called the PROTECTOR, and his Council*, intituled, *An Ordinance for the Ejecting of Scandalous, Ignorant and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters*, bearing date *Aug.* 29. 1654 wherein certain *Commissioners* with *Ministers assistant* were impowred to proceed according to severall *Instructions* therein specified, as by the said *Ordinance* (whereunto for further satisfaction I refer thee) appears: I was by Warrant from *Marlburrough* delivered unto me Sect. 1.

by *Tho. Cox* bearing date *Jan.* 21. 1655. under the hands and Seals of *Tho. Bayly*, *Tho. Hunt*, *Gabriel Martin*, *William Shute*, *William Blisset*, and *Richard Phelps*, ſummoned to appear before the ſaid *Commiſſioners* at *Marlburrough* on the 14 day of *February* then next following in theſe words.

WILTS,

By the Commiſſioners *for the ejecting of ſcandalous, Miniſters, &c. ſitting at* Marlburrough, *this* 21 *day of* Jan. 1655.

THeſe are to will and require you Walter Buſhnell *Clerk, Miniſter of* Box, *to make your perſonall appearance before us at the Sign of the Bear in* Marlburrough, *upon Thurſday come three weeks, the* 14 *day of* Febr. *next coming, to anſwere to a Charge of Articles, purporting matter of ſcandall and inſufficiency, before us this day exhibited againſt you. Hereof fail you not at your perill. Given under our hands and Seals, the day and year aboveſaid.*

To Walter Buſhnell *Clerk, theſe.*

On the outſide, Mr. *Buſhnell* of *Box.*

Which

Which perſonall appearance I accordingly made, and after I had waited till about *Eight* of the *Clock* at night, I received a Copy of the Charge in theſe words. *Sect.* 2.

WILTS ſſ.

A Copy of the Charge againſt Mr. Buſhnell, *exhibited* January. 21. 1655.

1. *That the ſaid Mr.* Buſhnell *is guilty of profaning the Sabbath day.*
2. *That he is guilty of frequenting Inns, and Alehouſes, and drinking to Exceſſe.*
3. *That he uſeth the Form contained in the Book of* Common Prayer, *and Baptizeth with the Sign of the Croſſe.*
4. *That he is guilty of playing Cards and Dice.*
5. *That he is guilty of ſeverall attempts by him made on his ſervant woman to have committed uncleanneſſe with her.*
6. *That he hath expreſſed his diſaffection to the preſent Government, in aſſociating himſelf with ſeverall perſons who were chief Actors in the late Inſurrection.*

Ex. per me William Bliſſett.

Vera Copia.

To these *Articles* I pleaded not guilty, which I subscribed at the foot of them, adding further to Mr. *Shute*, and Dr. *Chambers* (the only persons that to my knowledge I had ever seen before) that if those *Articles* were *true*, then was I *notoriously scandalous*; but if *false*, then were the *Informers Notorious Slanderers*, or words to that purpose. To which Dr. *Chambers* replies to this purpose, That the severall parties should be brought face to face. So that waiting only for a Copy of the *Articles*, for which I gave the Clark, (Mr. *Blissets* Son) 2 *s.* 6 *d.* I was at that time dismissed untill further summons.

Sect. 3. Now I must acquaint thee that these *Articles* were exhibited by one *John Travers* of *Slaughtenford*, commonly then called Captain *Travers*. This Trade of *Information* and such *unworthy shifts* being conceived to be almost all that he had to live by, he being looked on as a Fellow *meerly Mercenary*, framing Complaints against men for no other cause but that he might be hired to hold his peace: and endeavouring to displace *Ministers*, for this reason, that he might have his reward for making room for others to come into their *Livings*. And I make no doubt of it, but that as it was hope of reward which moved him to act, so at first it was indifferent to him from whom he had it. A *good Crust* would have so charmed this *Cerberus*, that he would

would not have opened his mouth unleſſe it had been in my behalf. Nor do I make a queſtion of it but that as ſome *reward* from me would have kept him quiet, or made him for me, ſo that he had ſome *promiſes given* him, or ſomewhat *aſſured* him in caſe he would appear againſt me. The man whom they have put in my place hath complained of the Charges he hath been at in getting of it; (one muſt have 20 *l.* another 10 *l.* another 10 *l.* and 10 *l.* it coſt him in ſuch a buſineſſe) now there is no doubt but that *John Travers* had his ſhare in this *Dividend* as well as in the *Service*: Neither can I think that Mr. *Sterne* would have *beknaved* him (ask *William Bliſſet* the younger, and *Tho. Cox* how) as he did ſome others, if *John Travers* had travailed and ſwore for him upon his own Charges. And for ſome ſuch kinde of man was he looked upon by Mr. *Chambers* himſelf, when he firſt delivered in theſe *Articles* againſt me; who (as he hath reported) called for the *Articles* with a purpoſe to have *torn* them, becauſe they were *Exhibited* by ſuch a hand.

He told me it coſt him 80 *l.*

And ſince I have mentioned the *Articles*, and the *perſon* that delivered them in, and the *entertainment* which they were like to finde from Mr. *Chambers* becauſe they were delivered in by ſuch an hand; let me now tell thee what (as he hath reported it) was the cauſe which made the Doctor forbear tearing of them,

Sect. 4.

them, and that was *because he saw there the Names of many whom he knew, and took to be honest men.* And here (for an Introduction to the *honesty* and *discretion* of the Dr.) I shall observe this unto thee, that (as I have been told) he observed it, that although there were several names *subscribed*, yet they were *all written in the same hand*, from which it must needs follow, that by the *Doctors* confession, the whole writing both *Articles* and *hands* might be all *forged* as indeed they were; so that me thinks the *Doctor* hath very much overshot himself in point of discretion, for he looks upon the *Articles* the more, because subscribed with such and so many names; and yet 2 he acknowledgeth all the names to be written with *one hand* which would have made any sober man the more to have *suspected* it. But yet the *Doctor* had an evasion for this, for at my appearing before them at *Caln* some of *those* whose names were *subscribed*, desired a sight of the *Paper* that they might know who had thus *abused* them which they could not obtain; yet the *Dr.* (*that we might not prove his Friends guilty of Forgery*) endeavours to preserve their reputation with a *Salvo* to some such purpose, *That their Names were written only by way of a Memorandum, that in case they were called upon, they could depose to these Articles, that that might be done without their knowledge*: I think he added, *That it was an usuall course in the proceedings of these Commissioners.*

missioners. But now I must tell thee, that many of them whose names were subscribed to those *Articles*, did touching my self first *under their own hands*, certifie to these *Commissioners* the quite contrary to these *Articles*, and afterward being before them and sworn, were so far from testifying any thing to the sense of the *Articles*, as that all they said was to my *vindication*, all which was industriously declined by the *Dr.* and his *Commissioners*, for although there were many of them before them, who said much, yet we have not so much as their names in the *Depositions*. So that this *Salvo* of the *Doctors* although with him it be but *Glossa Ordinaria*, yet is it after the rate of some of such Principles who draw up their *Memorandums* as they quote *Texts* and *Authors* to the *quite contrary of their intents.*

But to return to *John Travers*, the reason *Sect.* 5
which (beside *common report* which rendreth him such a man) moves me to think in this particular that some feeling would have stopped *John Travers* his mouth, is this: Sometimes before he delivered in these *Articles* to the *Commissioners*, he did *severall times*, and at *severall houses*, *Alehouses* and others, speak of them, yea and read them to severall Companies, which I believe he therefore did, that the report thereof might come to my ears: and that that report might *alarm* me to make in, and to take some timely course that this

ſtorm might be diverted: But now I conſidering, that he who goes about privately to practiſe with an *Informer*, doth *firſt* on the matter confeſſe himſelf *guilty*: *Next that*, he doth reward him for one *Crime*, and thereby incourage him to commit *another*: I conſidering *again*, that ſuch ſort of fellows will be no longer *quiet* then they are *fed*, and that they have (as ſtrong ſtomacks, ſo) quick *digeſtions*: Conſidering *again* that the Crimes which I was charged with, were *groſſe* and *ſcandalous*, and if *true*, deſerving a *greater* puniſhment then *Ejectment*: Conſidering again that the *Commiſſioners* mentioned in the *Ordinance* were many of them *Gentlemen* of eminent rank, and looked upon as men of *diſcretion* and *integrity*; and conſidering that the Inſtructions by which theſe *Commiſſioners* were to proceed were *ſuch* that had they been *duly obſerved*, it was almoſt impoſſible that a perſon not guilty ſhould be *prejudiced*: *For they were to examine witneſſes upon Oath on the behalf of the perſon Charged, and the proof of the Charge was to be made by credible witneſſes*, (*the ſequel will ſhew thee how they obſerved or kept to their Inſtructions*) being confident likewiſe of mine own *innocence* as to thoſe Crimes which were there charged upon me, and perſwading my ſelf that I ſhould finde nothing but *Juſtice* allayed with *Equity* and *Candor* in my *Judges*, I ſay, conſidering theſe things, I *caſt* my ſelf upon my tryall. But now how much I was miſtaken

miſtaken in ſome of theſe men, how *diſproportionable* their proceedings were to the *Ordinance* by which they acted, how little *juſtice* I found where I expected *Lawfull favour*, this enſuing *Diſcourſe* ſhall acquaint thee. And indeed calling to minde that abundance of *Godlineſſe* which ſome of theſe men pretend unto, making that the *Symbole* to difference themſelves from other men, and yet obſerveing their actings and proceedings I cannot but ſay as *Solomon* did, *And moreover I ſaw under the Sun the place of Judgment that wickedneſſe was there, and the place of righteouſneſſe that iniquity was there.* Eccl. 3.16.

The

The Transactions *at my Second time of appearing before them, at the* Antelop *in* Lavington, April 28. 1656.

Sect. 1. I Heard no more of this buſineſſe from the 14 of *February*, 1655. untill the 24 of *April*, 1656. at which time there came a *Soldier* to my Houſe and delivered me a piece of Paper in theſe words.

Mr. BUSHNELL,

I Am commanded by our Commiſſioners, to let you know, that they expect your appearance before them upon Monday next at the Antelop *in* Market-Lavington, *where they will examine the Witneſſes for proof of the Charge againſt you; if you intend to make defenſe thereunto you are then to bring your Witneſſes with you.*

Newſarum 31 *of* March, 1656. Per me *William Bliſſet*, *Clerk.*

To Mr. Buſhnell, *Miniſter of* Box, *theſe.*

As

As I ſaid before, I received not this Paper till the 24 of *April*, (for his pains the Soldier required and received 2 *s.* 6 *d.*) And notwithſtanding I could then eaſily have *abſented* my ſelf, and *juſtified* my non-appearance, both becauſe the *Monday* next after the 31 of *March*, on which by this *Warrant* I was to appear, was *April* 7. and ſo *elapſed* more then a *Fortnight* before the Paper came to my hands: as likewiſe becauſe I had not *five dayes* warning before hand as the *Ordinance* injoyns. Yet becauſe the *Souldier* told me that the *Monday next* mentioned in the Warrant did not refer to *March* 31. on which it was dated, but unto the 24 of *April*, on which he delivered it, and ſo muſt be *April* 28. as alſo being unwilling to move a Queſtion, whether by five dayes mentioned in the *Ordinance* were to be underſtood five dayes *incluſivè*, or *excluſivè*, I ſay I being unwilling to make uſe of ſuch *poor ſhifts*, which might rather render me *ſuſpected* then any way *vindicate* me, and deſiring nothing more then a *fair* and *ſpeedy* hearing I repair to *Lavington* accordingly: I ſhall obſerve this unto thee from the laſt clauſe of their Warrant, that they command me to *bring Witneſſes* for my defenſe when as *none* had *depoſed* againſt me, and yet afterward when they had received Depoſitions againſt me, they *rejected* whom they pleaſed of my *Witneſſes*, and at laſt made a *peremptory Order*, that no more of my Witneſſes ſhould be admitted

mitted, of which more hereafter.

Sect. 2. At this time at *Lavington* there appear as Witneſſes for the *Common-wealth* (for that was the name by which they were called) *William Pinchin*, *Peter Webb*, *Thomas Powell*, *Mary* the Wife of *Henry Workman*, and *Jane Hendie* Widow of *Box*, and *Obadiah Cheltenham* of *Ditcheridge*, who being all ſworn, were required to ſpeak their knowledge touching the Charge againſt me. I muſt tell thee, that *William Pinchin* (as I take it, before he was ſworn) deſired to be *excuſed* in regard of ſome neer relation of *Kindred* which was betwixt us two; but this I oppoſed, knowing it to be a *piece* of himſelf; he I knew for a long time had been the prime *Contriver* of all; and that the others who appeared there, were there by his *procurement*; and that ſome of them acted according to his *Inſtructions*. I conceived likewiſe that *this* might be to gain the greater opinion from the *Commiſſioners* that he ſeem'd thus to *hang back* (for in ſuch caſes forward Witneſſes, even amongſt *Heathens*, were not ſo well thought of) and therefore he pretends an *unwillingneſſe* to that which he moſt *deſires*; for I am aſſured, that he would never have gone about ſo to *excuſe* himſelf, if he had believed that ſuch an *excuſe* would have been accepted of. Somewhat it was which Mr. *Bliſſet* then ſpake unto him, that he had been *lately* ſworn before other *Commiſſioners* (yea and there he approves himſelf

Capt. *Scotton*, Mr. *Bliſſet*, Mr. *Hely*, *Olivr's Commiſſioners* for *Decimation*.

himself a *Valiant Knight*) which I conceive was spoken either out of *wonder*, that *William Pinchin* should now be so *calm* who was lately so *fierce*, or else by way of *invitation* to *incourage* him to go on.

But this hinderance being removed, *William Pinchin* goes on in these words: Sect. 3.

That about Eight years since, when Mr. Bushnell *came first to* Box, *he feasted his friends on the Lords day, and having drank liberally that day there, one* Thrift, *one of the Guests was killed in the Tower there, but by what means this Deponent knoweth not.* And saith farther, *That he knoweth, that Mr.* Bushnell *have usually till within this two years frequented Alehouses in Parish businesse, and have there drank hard in Mr.* Speke's *and Mr.* Long's *Company; and have saw him set there drinking after they have been gone, but cannot say that ever he saw him drunk.* And saith further, *That Mr.* Bushnell *have alway baptized Infants by the form of the* Common Prayer *till the last Sabbath day, excepting the Sign of the Crosse.*

Where I shall offer to thy consideration, Sect. 4.
1. That although *William Pinchin* pretends he came *unwillingly* to swear, yet we see he comes not *unprepared*. I shall therefore desire the Reader to take some notice of this *deposition* which consists of *three parts*, answerable to the *three first Articles* exhibited against me.

1. *Profa-*

1. *Profanation of the Lords Day.*

2. *Frequenting Alehouſes.*

3. *Uſing the* Common Prayer *at the Baptizing of Children.*

I ſhall obſerve ſomething to thee touching *all* theſe accordingly as they lie in order.

Sect. 5. And *firſt* I ſhall tell thee that whatſoever *William Pinchin* depoſeth touching *my Feaſting on the Lords day, or drinking liberally on that day, or of the death of* John Thrift, he hath only upon *conjecture*, or elſe upon *hear-ſay*: For he then upon *Oath* acknowledged before the *Commiſſioners*, that he was not that *day* at *Box*, but at *Broughton*, which is ſome *four* or *five Miles* diſtant from *Box*, and 'tis like enough he was there at the *Revel*, that being their *Revel-day.*

2. He then depoſed likewiſe that this Lords day was *Midlent-Sunday.*

3. He then depoſed, that *I preached not that Afternoon, imputing it to Exceſſive Drinking*; And yet we have not one word of this in the Copy of the *Depoſitions* which we received from their *Clerk*. Whether *it* were ever taken, or if taken, whether *Index Expurgatorius* hath daſht it out I will not ſay.

Sect. 6. I muſt not forget to tell thee, that whiles the *Clerk* was taking *William Pinchins* Depoſition, Mr. *Byfield* did often interpoſe, as if it had belonged to *him* to teach *William Pinchin* how to ſwear, and the *Clerk* how to enter it.

it. Adding that if he wrote, *ſo*, or *ſo*, it would not amount to a *Charge*, for that the latter *part* of it would *contradict* the former, or words to ſuch a purpoſe: (No Depoſition pleaſed him but ſuch as had poyſon in it.) And here I muſt tell the Reader that this Mr. *Byfield* ſeemed wholly to have forgotten both the *place* and the *purpoſe* for which his Name was put into the *Ordinance*, for by that it is cleer that neither Mr. *Byfield* nor any other *Miniſter* hath any thing to do but only to *aſſiſt* the *Commiſſioners in their adjudging who ſhall be accounted ignorant and inſufficient*; whereas it is well known that Mr. *Byfield* intermedled in the matter of Scandall more then all the *Commiſſioners* beſide. I appeared *Nine times* before them, where Mr. *Byfield* ever made one; and (when the *Pipe* was out of his *Mouth*) his *Tongue* was ſeldome *ſilent*: but either *dictating to the Clerk*; *encouraging ſome Witneſſes, thwarting with, and threatning and turning back others*; *thruſting ſome out of dores, that they might not hear how things paſt*: *charging the Clerk that he ſhould give no Copies of the Depoſitions, making Orders which were for his purpoſe, reverſing others which were not*; *reading and explaining Acts and Ordinances*; *concealing ſome other which were not for his purpoſe, inſtructing and Catechiſing ſome of his Commiſſioners*: Of all which thou ſhalt have *particular* inſtances in the *Sequel*. But now in the buſineſſe which was *properly* his, *Examination*, my man was as *mute* as a *Fiſh*, for I remember

remember not that he propoſed ſo much as *one queſtion* unto me. Indeed he hath not been ſo *favourable* in that particular to every body: For he hath (as I have been told) preſs'd a *Neighbour* of mine with a Queſtion very *earneſtly* and cloſely; and wot you what it was? It was (doubtleſſe with Mr. *Byfield* a *fundamentall* one) *What was the yearly value of his Living?* and indeed when Mr. *Chambers* preaching at *Bath* on thoſe words, Joh. 14. 22. made this Obſervation, That *Judas Iſcariot* propoſed no Queſtion, but about *Earthly* things, as, *What will you give me? Might not this have been ſold?* &c. I could not chooſe but think of Mr. *Byfield.*

Novem. 11. 1657.

Sect. 7. But to return to the Depoſition, *William Pinchin* acknowledgeth himſelf to be *abſent*, and yet he ſwears as if he had been at *Box*. I am not ſo much a *Lawyer* as to know how far forth an *Oath* will *extend*, or to what it will amount, if a man *depoſe* nothing but what he hath received by *hear-ſay*. Amongſt the people of God heretofore *the matter was not eſtabliſhed, but at the mouth of two or three Witneſſes*; they could not if *abſent* ſend in their Teſtimony under their *hands*, and then certainly much leſſe could they give *Evidence* of a thing which they never *knew*. In after Ages it is reported that they *deponed* after this ſort.

Deut. 19. 15.

1. They muſt teſtifie from their *own ſight.*

2. What

2. What *day of the Moneth* ſuch a thing was done.

3. What *Moneth of the Year* ſuch a thing was done.

4. What *Seaventh year of the Jubilee.*

weems. Chr. Synag. p. 167. ex Talmud. lib. Shophetim, i. e. Judicum.

And ſure enough it is that whatſoever is *depoſed* in ſuch a Caſe is no *Teſtimony* but a *Report*, and ſo as to the *Teſtimony* and the *Witneſſe*, it is falſe, although the thing reported were true. *Teſtis falſus eſt, non is modo qui mendacium dicit, ſed qui etiam quod verum eſt teſtificatur cujus certam & indubitatam notitiam non habet, id eſt, teſtatur quod nec vidit, nec audivit, nec expertus eſt.* I preſume they will not diſlike my *Author*. He is a falſe Witneſſe, not only he who *tells a Lie*, but he alſo who teſtifies a truth whereof he hath not a *certain* and *undoubted knowledge*, that is, if he teſtifie that which he hath neither *ſeen* nor *heard*, nor hath *had* any *Experience* of; which I ſpeak not in any wiſe by way of *granting* that to be true which *William Pinchin* hath informed in this particular; for I ſhall manifeſt it hereafter unto thee, that this report is both *falſe* and *ſlanderous*, but only to evidence thus much unto thee that be it *true*, or be it *falſe*, yet *William Pinchin* could be no *competent Witneſſe* of it, becauſe by his own confeſſion he was at the ſame time at *another place* about *four* or *five miles* off. It hath been obſerved as a moſt *ſenceleſſe* and *imprudent* piece of malice in the *Chief Prieſts* and *Elders*, (and indeed Malice is alwayes ſuch)

Cartwr. in Pr. 21, 28.

Matth. 28. 11,12, 13. that after *Consultation* they should order it in *Sanhedrim*, *That large Money should be given to the Souldiers to say, that his Disciples came by night, and stole him away while they slept. Si dormierunt quomodo furtum viderunt? Si autem non viderunt, quomodo fuerunt testes?* If they *slept*, how *saw* they the *theft*? and if they *saw* it not, how could they be *Witnesses*? Proportionably say I, if *William Pinchin* were then at *Broughton*, it is impossible that he should *see it*? And if he saw it not, how could he be a *witnesse*? Such conjecturall reports or informations upon hearsay, I have known to have been *rejected by Justices of Peace in matter of Tythes*; and shall such an Oath in one case be *insufficient* to help a man to a *shilling*, and yet in another case be *enough* to *undoe* him? And cleerly these *Commissioners* gave me here a taste both of their *justice* and *discretion*, as likewise hinted unto me what I was to expect from *them*, in that they did not only receive *such* a deposition as *this*, from such a *man* as *this*; but also set it in the *fore-front*, and make it the *Leading Deposition* to all the rest.

6 *Jansen in Concor.*

Sect. 8. But now as to some other parts of his Deposition, as to the first *Article*, *William Pinchin* swore positively at this time at *Lavington*, that the day whereon *Thrift* was kil'd, was *Midlent-Sunday*, and that I usually kept Feasts on *that day*: Yet at *Marlburrough* afterward he takes a greater latitude, and swears, That he

May 8. 1656.

was

was *assured* that it was betwixt *Candlemas* and *Easter* (it seems he was not assured of what he swore before) whereas upon search in the *Register*, it was found to be on the 13 of *Septemb.* (which as Mr. *Byfield* who perused the Register Book said) was nothing neer it. As I remember it was at this time that Mr. *Blisset*, to reconcile these *clashing* Oaths, and to strengthen his Evidence, said that this *mistake* was only in a *Circumstance*, the *Time*; and such a *mistake* is enough to mar the whole *Action*. *Malum ex quolibet defectu*. And if Circumstances are enough to *specificate* moral Actions, then much more *divine*. Oaths, as they are not to be urged, but in *weighty* and *intricate* causes, so they are not to be taken without much *deliberation* and *precaution*. He who hath sworn to speak the *truth*, the *whole truth*, and *nothing but the truth* forswears himself if he speak any thing *more*, any *thing lesse*, or *any thing beside*, *Qui in juramento assertorio aliter dicit quam res est et si in re levissima pejerat*. The least aberration in an assertory Oath, makes it no lesse then Perjury. Thou shalt swear the Lord liveth in *Truth*, in *Judgment*, and in *Righteousnesse*; in *truth*, not *falsely*; in *judgment*, not *rashly* or *unadvisedly*; in *righteousnesse*, not *wickedly*. These three are called *Comites Juramenti*, the Companions of an Oath, without which no Oath can be lawfull. *Judicio caret juramentum incautum, veritate juramentum mendax, justitia juramentum iniquum, seu illicitum*. And yet no

Dr. *Sanderson, de jur. præl.* 3.

Jer. 4. 2.

Perk. C. C. lib. 2. *Ch.* 13. § 2.

Aquin. 22. *Q.* 89. *Art.* 3 *ex Hieron.*

leſſe then *two* of theſe *three* hath *William Pinchin* neglected in his Oath; *Judgment*, for he ſwears *raſhly* and *unadviſedly*, miſtaking the *Spring* for the *Autumn*, and *March* or *April* for *September*: and that he made as little regard of ſwearing in *truth*, as he did to ſwear in *judgment*, I am next to tell thee.

Sect. 9. For *William Pinchin* at this time at *Lavington* depoſed that *I preached not that Afternoon when* John Thriſt *was killed*, imputing it to *May* 8. *exceſſive drinking*. Whereas at *Marlburrough* he depoſeth, that I had received 6 *s.* 8. *d.* from the Widow *Hedges* for preaching a *Funeral Sermon* upon a *Lords day* in the *Afternoon*, *at the buriall of her Husband John Hedges*. Now it appeared by the *Regiſter* then in place, and examined, that *John Hedges* was buryed on the ſelf ſame Afternoon of the ſame *Lords day* whereon *John Thriſt* was ſlain. So that *William Pinchin* having formerly *ſworn* that I preached not that Afternoon, *ſwears* afterwards, that I received Money for preaching a *Funerall Sermon* at the ſame time. Another *Circumſtance* for Mr. *Bliſſet*. I could not perceive it, that any of the *Miniſters* took it amiſſe, that I received ſuch a reward; (perchance Mr. *Byfield* looked upon it as a piece of *Sacriledge* that I took no more) but if they had, it would have been teſtified to their faces, that *ſome one* among them had on a time received *three* times as much for the like ſervice.

And

And now had you seen how *William Pinchin* did then look, being thus palpably convicted by himself, and caught in his —— what shall I call it? *Perjury*: Perchance some may say, that according to the ancient notion of the word *Perjury* as with reference to our Municipal Laws it was not so much: Or, shall I call it *false witnesse?* it was more, because he was *sworn*, and the Rule of the Civil Law is, that whoso shall *depose any falshood in Testimony*, shall *be held guilty of Perjury*. But the Reader may call it what he please; yet of this I am sure, that with *God*, and in *Scripture Phrase*, false swearing and Perjury are all one: With *him* the Crime is the same whersoever committed; and as the *Crime*, so doubtlesse the *Punishment* will be the same: I say had you seen how Ghastly *William Pinchin* then looked being thus surprized, you would have said, that there needed no more to have stopt *William Pinchins* mouth from swearing, or the *Commissioners* ears from crediting him. *Sect.* 10. *Lambert, Iren. l. 2. c. 4. pag. 395. mihi 5 Elizab. c. 9. 14 Eliz. c. 1. Cod. lib. 4. Tit. 20. de Testibus.*

But passe we to the next part of his Deposition, which refers to the Second *Article* of Charge against me. And he saith further, *Sect.* 11.

That he knoweth, that Mr. Bushnell *have usually till within these two years frequented Alehouses in Parish businesse, and have there drank hard in Mr.* Speke's *and Mr.* Long's *Company, and have saw him set drinking there after they have been gone, but cannot say that ever he have seen him drunk.*

Sect. 12. Touching which, I ſhall offer to thy conſideration,

1. That we have here expreſſed, that he ſwears upon his *knowledge*; whereas we have not the word in the former part of the Depoſition, which may confirm thee, that what he had depoſed before, was either upon *Conjecture* or *Hear-ſay*.

2. Thoſe words, That I have *frequented Alehouſes* in Pariſh buſineſſe, I ſhall in this ſenſe admit to be true. *As often as there were Meetings at Alehouſes, touching Pariſh buſineſſe,* (which was but very ſeldome) *I might frequent them*; that is, thoſe Meetings there, my Intereſt ingaged me thereunto as much as any mans: And that thoſe Meetings were there, it was not long of me; it is well known, that there was a Room at the *Church-houſe* reſerved for that purpoſe; which Room *William Pinchin* ('tis like) thought not ſo fit to carry on his *Contrivances* in; and therefore it might be a deſign in him to remove thoſe Meetings *thither*, becauſe he was reſolv'd (if ſwearing would doe it) that to that place with *ſafety* I ſhould not come. 'Tis well known, that within theſe few years *William Pinchin* hath been a great Rate-maker, and ſeldome out of Offices; that he hath brought in large Accounts, and in thoſe his Accounts it will be made appear that he hath made but little Conſcience either of *Honeſty*, or of his *Oath*.

The

The next thing in the Depoſition is, That I have there *drank hard* in Mr. *Speke*'s and Mr. *Long*'s Company. As touching the firſt of theſe Gentlemen, Mr. *Speke*, I ſhall ſay, that (as I have heard) this was not the firſt time wherein *William Pinchin* forſwore himſelf, to *wrong* him. And it is not unlikely, but that this conſideration, that Mr. *Speke* was my *Patron*, (and now he is gone, and ſo in no capacity either to be *pleaſed* or *offended* with any thing which I ſhall ſay, I aſſure thee, if ever any was, ſuch he was to me, *verè Patronus*, a *Patron indeed*; one who moſt freely beſtowed the place upon me, and I think he never repented that he had ſo beſtowed it:) and I his *Clerk*, that he was *loving* to me, and I as in duty bound, *reſpectfull* toward him; might move *William Pinchin* (a profeſs'd Enemy *& Parentibus, & Patronis*, to *Parents* of all ſorts) to levell at us both. And I believe it that *William Pinchin* and I ſhould have been better friends, if I had done by my *Patron*, as he hath done ſeverall times by his *Parents*, *Couſen them*, *curſe them*, and *beat* them out of *doors*. Sect. 13.

But further touching Mr. *Speke*; I could never hear it reported by any one (unleſſe by him who will ſwear any thing) that this *Gentleman* was ever given to intemperate Drinking, no not in his *healthy* and *younger* years: but now in his *latter dayes*, (and this was the time to which this Depoſition *refers*. Sect. 14.

and in which I had any knowledge of him) it is well known that he was so *valetudinary* and *crasie*, that his own Infirmities would have constrained him to have kept a temperate Diet, althongh he had not been disposed to it.

Sect. 15. And then as touching the other *Gentleman*, Mr. *Long*, that he should be within *two years*, (that is within two years of the time wherein *William Pinchin* thus deposed, which was *April* 28. 1656.) in *such a place*, and with *such Company drinking hard*, will seem very strange to any one that shall peruse the *Register* Book of the Parish of *Corsham*, for there it appears (and so much was certified to the *Commissioners*, at their last sitting at *Lavington*, under the hand of the *sworn Register* of *Corsham*,) that this Mr. *Long* was buryed, *December* 9. 1651. So that if *William Pinchin* swore truly, it must needs follow that this Mr. *Long* was drinking hard at *Box*, more then *two years* after he was in his *Grave* at *Corsham*. *Another Circumstance for Mr.* Blisset.

There is in the close of this part of the Deposition, That *he cannot say that ever he saw me drunk*: Which Clause I would have the Reader to bear in his minde untill the *Transactions* of the next day.

Sect. 16. Passe we now to the last part of his Deposition which *refers* to the third *Article* of Charge exhibited against me, it is this,

That

That Mr. Bushnell *have alwayes baptized Infants by the form of* Common Prayer, *till the last Sabbath day, excepting the Sign of the Crosse.*

To which for present I shall say but only this, that for any thing *William Pinchin* knew, it might be *so*, or it might be *otherwise*; for (excepting the *Sabbath* which he speaks of in his *Deposition*, whereon he staid for a *godly* purpose no doubt) it was none of his use in those few times he came to *Church* to stay so long till Children were *Baptized*.

The next Deposition taken, was the Depo- *Sect.* 17.
sition of *Peter Webb*, in these words,

That he have often seen Mr. Bushnell at *Alehouses, but only about Parish businesse.* And saith further, That *at* Michaelmas *was Twelve-Moneth he Baptized this Deponents Childe by part of the Book of* Common Prayer, *and that about four or five years since, he saw him playing at Cards at Mr.* Speke's.

This *Deposition* (because it hath nothing singular in it but playing at *Cards*, which will fall under another Deposition) I shall at present passe over.

Next comes *Obadiah Cheltenham*, and swears, *Sect.* 18.
That he have often seen Mr. Bushnell *at* Clarks *Alehouse in* Box, *and at the George at* Corsham, *from five years past, till within two years, but never saw him drink to excesse.*

No nor so much as *drink* neither, for his words were, That at *Corsham* he did only look

look into the *Room* where I was, belike he means the *Room* where (after the *Sermon* was ended) the *Ordinary* was kept. I wonder he had not charged me with *frequenting Inns* and *Alehouſes* at *Lavington*, *Cain*, *Marlburrough*, in attendance to theſe *Commiſſioners*: For I can aſſure thee, that ſince I came to *Box*, I never lodg'd ſo many nights in *Inns* and *Alehouſes*, nor have ſpent a *Tenth* part of Money in thoſe *Inns* and *Alehouſes*, as I have parted withall in this buſineſſe: And perchance ſome body, who knows the pulſe of the *Marlburrough Commiſſioners* very well, will (when I have told him all which I intend) ſay, that my *Diſcharge* might have been procured at a much eaſier rate then mine *undoing*.

Sect. 19. But I muſt tell thee, that *Obadiah Cheltenham* was far more *fierce* at *Lavington* then his Depoſition repreſents him: For (beſide that he there *thwarted* with one *witneſſe*, and *prompts* another) he then upon Oath informs the *Commiſſioners*, *That I had uſed a Prayer before Sermon ſo often, that the very Boyes of the Street, could repeat it and laugh at it.* Which paſſage it ſeems, Mr. *Chambers* noted, for (as I have been told) he *reported* it in another place: Now ſince *Obadiah Cheltenham* had alwayes *free admiſſion* to *them*, and a *gratious Countenance* from Mr. *Chambers* and Mr. *Byfield*, I may conjecture, that in private at leaſt *this* was look'd upon as *matter of Charge* againſt me.

In

In order to my *Vindication* in this particular, I ſhall offer to thy conſideration theſe things. *Sect.* 20.

1. That I conceive it not to be any crime in a Miniſter to uſe a *Set Form of Prayer.*

2. That I conceive it not any crime in a Miniſter, to uſe the *ſame ſet form of Prayer more then once.* I am not the firſt that ſayeth, That *the gift of Prayer doth not exclude means, and endeavours of our own*; as *premeditation, diligence, ſtudy*, both of *matter, order, words*: Nor did I ever take *praying in*, or *by*, or *with* the *Spirit*, and *Extempore, unthought of, unpremeditated Prayer*, for one and the ſame thing. My preſent judgment is, that as to the *publique* there is no ſuch *praying by the Spirit* as when we have *ſeriouſly conſidered and bethought our ſelves aforehand*, both of *what* we have to pray for, and of *whom* we are to ask it. Nor am I ſingular in it if I ſhould ſay, that the *Spirit doth then help our Infirmities*, when as with *due affections*, and *requiſite ardency* of deſire, we pray as we have *premeditated*, or have been *taught.* And if it happen, that the people are well acquainted with it, it is ſo much the *better*, the buſineſſe is their *own*, and of ſuch a nature as that it is a *buſineſſe* which *neerly concerns* them, and as I conceive it the *Miniſters* duty to fit his *publique Prayers* ſo as they may be moſt for *publique uſe*, ſo I conceive it fit likewiſe, that the *Congregation* be well *acquainted* with both the *matter* and *order* of them, that

Daneus in *Orat. Dom. Tract.* 1. c. 12. p 39. *mihi.*

that both the one and the other may *engage* with the *greater fervency*, becauſe they all know, how neerly they are *concerned* in it; and can all joyfully ſay *Amen* unto it. And to give me thy thoughts in this particular, I ſay, that as the *Example* of thoſe who have attempted this *unpremeditated way* could never *incourage me to attempt the like*, ſo neither have the *Arguments* which they urge againſt this *premeditate* way of Prayer prevailed ſo far with me, as to make me *change* my minde.

Sect. 21. But now as to mine own *particular*, I ſhall ſay thus much, That I have formerly made uſe of the ſame Prayer in Congregations far more *judicious* and *numerous* then is that of *Box*, yet I could never hear any thing taxed in it, as *misbeſeeming* or *ridiculous*: No nor at *Box* neither, unleſſe it were by *William Pinchin*, and *Obadiah Cheltenham*, or ſuch like, who may have the *impudence* to diſlike what they have not the *grace* to practice. Nay, even at *Box*, I am confident of it, *Obadiah Cheltenham* may go throughout the whole Pariſh, and be ſo far from finding *Boye*, or *Boyes* that *laugh* at it, as that he ſhall not finde any one that *remembers* ſo much as *three lines* of it: And therefore I look upon this as a double *ſlander*, againſt the *Boyes* and *my ſelf*.

Sect. 22. It was at this time and place likewiſe that *Obadiah Cheltenham* prompted *Thomas Powell* another Witneſſe, to inform, That I had *preached unprofitable Doctrine*; what it was, we ſhall

ſhall have when we come to *Tho. Powels* Depoſition. And doubtleſſe, *Obadiah Cheltenham* would have had the *Commiſſioners* believe, that there was nothing but good meaning in all this; that the deſire of his heart, and his utmoſt aims were, that they might be *fed with Food both wholſome and convenient for them*; and therefore I muſt be *repreſented* as an *unprofitable Teacher*, and ſo to be laid aſide, ſo to uſher in an *expedience* to theſe their *Godly deſires*: But ſee now how the *event* hath bewraid all. Mr. *Stern* hath lately told me, that theſe men, *William Pinchin*, and *Obadiah Cheltenham*, invite him to Box with much importunity, and many promiſes, even beſeeching him to come and preach *Chriſt* among them, of which for a long time they ſaid that they had a great want; and therefore (like the man of *Macedonia* in *Paul's* Viſion) *they pray him to come unto them and help them:* But (ſaid he) all this was but for *ſome Intereſt of their own*, their *gain* (belike) being their *godlineſſe*; *William Pinchin* of late coming but ſeldome to Church, and *Obadiah Cheltenham* being (as 'tis ſaid) a frequenter of the Meetings of the *Anabaptiſts*.

Next comes *Thomas Powel*, and depoſeth, *Sect.* 23. *That ſometimes, till within Four years paſt, he have ſeen Mr* Buſhnell *in* Raynalds *and* Baylies *Alehouſes* in Box, *but knowes not what drew him thither: but never ſaw him drink to exceſſe.* And ſaith, *That till within three or four years paſt,*

past, Mr. Bushnell *have baptized by the Form of* Common Prayer. *And that about two years since, Mr.* Bushnell *preaching against Malice, said, That Malicious persons were the Devils Nymphs, and wished them with him for their wages.*

Sect. 24. To which I shall say, that if *Thomas Powel* had been then demanded when he had been last at *Rainalds*, he would have been made confesse that he had not been there in *six years* before, and therefore possibly he could not see me there within *four year*. But now whereas he adds, *he knew not what businesse drew me thither*, I doubt me that he wilfully forgets himself, for he cannot but remember that the busi-
July 12. 1651. nesse which once drew me to *Baylies*, was his own; to compose a difference then depending betwixt himself, and a Neighbour whom he then *maliciously* and *spitefully* prosecuted, about which we spent the greater part of the night: and I believe that he cannot forget that the businesse which drew me to *Bailies* at another
May 15. 1653. time was to beg relief for *Marlburrough*, where on the *Lords Day* we found him sitting at a Table with a *Jug* before him: when and where with some adoe he bountifully advanced a *Groat* towards that charitable work; which was not so much as we received from some who lived in the *Church-house*, and received *Alms* of our *Monethly Collection*: Nor had our Benevolence to *Marlburrough* amounted so high as it did, unlesse some amongst us had been

been far more liberall then *Thomas Powel* was. Now I cannot readily remember that I ever saw *Tho. Powel* at *Baylies* but only at those times.

And since I have on this occasion mentioned *Marlburrough*, I must tell thee, that some of that place (such whom I believe had their share in the Dividend) have since made me but a very *sorry requitall*, either for my *pains* for them, or my *Charity* towards them. I little thought it, when I went about from house to house throughout our whole *Parish* and *Tythings*, for severall dayes together, with much *importunity* too, to beg for *Marlburrough*, that *Marlburrough* men, (within three years after, sitting in their *stately houses*, built at the *Countreys* and other mens Charges) should be with the *first* that should turn me out of dores: That those who (had it not been for the Benevolence of the Countrey, which was much advanced by the industry of the *Ministers*) might have *sate without dores*, should with a *breath* leave us in as *sad* or a *sadder* condition then the *fire* left them. And thus much will I say more as to mine own particular, that my Purse as well as my Pains went very far for them, for they received more from *me*, and my *little Family* then from all those 22 whom they countenanced and encouraged to swear against me: I recorded it in our *Parish* Register Book, both the *sum* which was collected for them, as also the *names* of the *persons* who

Sect. 25.

Mr. *Blisset*, Mr. *Hunt*, Mr. *Tho. Bayly*.

At the white Hart at Marlb. July 2. 1656.

who *beſtowed* their pains in Collecting of it. Which one of the *Marlburrough* men, (Mr. *Tho. Bayly* peruſing the *Regiſter Book*) noted, how he liked it I know not, perchance not ſo well. I have read of thoſe of that diſpoſition, that being *once aloft*, cannot endure to be told that ever they *went*, or *ſent a begging*; but when they were on their leggs again, their main Endeavours ſhould be to *remove* or *cruſh* them who *liſted* them up, for fear it ſhould be known that they had been *down*. Now whether I incur'd the *Marlburrough* mens diſpleaſure in being ſo *ſaucie* as to commit their (ſometime) *indigent* and *begging condition* to *Poſterity*, (they though moſt willing to *receive*, yet as unwilling to be told of it) I will not judge. I have not now our *Regiſter* Book at command, but for want of that let theſe *Papers* remain as a record to *teſtifie* to the preſent and future times how theſe *Marlburrough* men have requited me.

Sect. 26. But to return, the next thing in *Tho. Powel's* Depoſition is, *That he never ſaw me drink to exceſſe*: Which I ſhall deſire the Reader to keep in his memory till the *Tranſactions* of the next day.

Next he ſwears, *That till within this three or four years*, Mr. Buſhnell *have baptized by the Form of* Common Prayer.

To which I ſhall reply only this, that as this was nothing to the *Ordinance* by which theſe *Commiſſioners* ſate and acted, ſo it was more

more then *Thomas Powel* knew, for he was a man that seldome came to *Church*, nor do I remember that I ever saw him stay the time during the *Administration* of that *Sacrament*: For present I shall desire thee to observe how *Thomas Powel* treads in *William Pinchins* track, and swears as if he had taught him his Lesson.

The next branch in his Deposition, is, *That about two years since, Mr.* Bushnell *preaching against Malice, said, That Malicious persons were the Devils Nymphs, and wished them with him for their wages.* Sect. 27.

And where lies the matter of *Charge* here? or to what *Article* doth this Deposition refer? Is *Malice* become a Vertue? and if a Vice, is it so rare in the Land, that it is *unseasonable* to reprove it? And what have we next? I said that Malicious persons were the *Devils Nymphs*:

Risum teneatis ———

Indeed I could not forbear, which doubtlesse (had he seen it) would have much offended Mr. *Byfield*, as he was on the like occasion at another time. The *Clerk*, as wondering at the *Expressions*, for some time withheld his hand, belike, conceiving that *Tho. Powel* might mistake, but he continuing *earnest*, and often *iterating* those words, *Nymphs, Nymphs*, the *Clerk* enters it accordingly. Doubtlesse, *Tho. Powel* conceived these to be some *stabbing*

words, he was ſo zealous for them; and yet to any underſtanding man they will not amount to any Charge, unleſſe it be of *ſimplicity*, *falſhood*, or *malice* in the Reporter of them. For

1. Few that know me will *believe* it, that I ſhould ever ſay ſo. And

2. In caſe I had ſaid ſo, the moſt that I could have been charged with, had been *impropriety* or *incongruity* of *ſpeech*, although we read of the *Devils Children* often, yet of his *Nymphs* never, untill in *Thomas Powels* Depoſition.

Give me leave to adventure my *conjecture* how this might come to paſſe. I told thee a little before, that *Tho. Powel* in his Depoſitions did tread in *William Pinchins* ſteps, I doubt me that he had *William Pinchin* for his tutor here, and that he taught him to ſay, that I had ſaid that malicious perſons were the Devils *Imps*; which *Thomas Powel* miſapprehending, or remembring, might ſwear that I ſaid, Malicious perſons were the *Devils Nymphs*. I have read of a Guide, that by miſtaking *Caſilinum* for *Caſinum* was likely to have *hazarded Hannibals* whole Army. What *hazard Thomas Powel* hath brought upon his ſoul by this, I leave it to him who will one day call *vain* and *unadviſed Swearers*, much more *falſe Swearers* to an account.

Plut. invit. Man. & Fab. Max.

Sect. 28. And although at firſt I *ſmiled* at the ridiculouſneſſe of the Expreſſions, yet afterward con-

onſidering that *Thomas Powel* was upon his Oath, and ſo bound by that *Sacred* tie, wherein our great God was called in as a *witneſſe* to the *truth*, and *conſequently* an Avenger if he *take falſe*; and he bound to ſpeak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, ſhould then depoſe ſuch words as *ſpoken* by me which never were ſpoken, and I believe, looked on by many even of the *Commiſſiners* themſelves as even *impoſſible* to be true, I ſay that this did much *ſadden* my ſpirit; and ſorry am that it was *ſo much* or *no more* looked upon by theſe *Commiſſioners*: But indeed, (conſidering what kinde of *Teſtimonies* they received againſt me, as likewiſe what uſe they made of thoſe *Teſtimonies*) I much doubt it that they made uſe of ſuch Teſtimonies againſt me, which they *in their Conſciences* knew to be falſe. And this they might doe, (although without Equity or Conſcience, yet) not without *preſidents*, ſuch as they are, both from the *Old* and the *New Teſtament*; but me thinks, the *Example* and the *Ends* of *theſe men*, are enough to frighten any others to *adventure* the ſame way. *Haſt thou marked the Old way which wicked men have troden?* Job 22.15.

I have often propoſed it unto my ſelf, *Sect. 29.*
what, and *when*, and *where* any words ſhould be ſpoken by me which *Thomas Powel* could wreſt to ſuch a ſenſe; at length I lighted upon this *conjecture*, wherein, from ſome words which *Thomas Powel* hath formerly let fall in

ſome company, I am confirmed. Some ye
paſt (I am ſure more then two twice told)
took for my Text thoſe words of our *Bleſ*
Saviour, Math. 12. 32. *But whoſoever ſpeak*
againſt the Holy Ghoſt, it ſhall not be forgiven h
neither in this world, nor in the world to co
Where, having told them the uſual *definit*
of this *ſin unto death*; towards the concluſi
of my diſcourſe, by way of *Caveat*, I advi
my Hearers, that as they deſired not to co
at it, ſo neither to come *neer it*, no nor
much as *toward it* neither: In order whereu
to, after ſeverall other *Caveats*, I told them, th
men muſt take heed of *raiſing* and *reporting* m
licious ſlanders; ſuch which their own *Conſc*
ences cannot but tell them are *falſe*, *and yet ſo*
baſe by-reſpect will put them on both to report a
juſtifie them: Adding further, that a man migh
come *towards* this ſin againſt the *Holy Ghoſt* b
ſlandering, or *maliciouſly reporting a known falſho*
of but a Man: For I had told them before
that the *ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt*, was not ſ
called becauſe it was againſt the *perſon of th*
Holy Ghoſt, but becauſe it was againſt thoſ
Graces whereof the *Bleſſed Spirit* by way o
Appropriation is ſaid to be the author or giver
which I cleerly manifeſted unto them fro
the *caſe* in the Text; for otherwiſe with wha
congruity could our *Bleſſed Saviour* have no
taxed them with this ſin, when as their Ma
licious ſlanders were againſt himſelf? 'T
without doubt that theſe *Phariſees* with whom
ou

Blessed Saviour had now to doe came *neer* it. And therefore they came *neer* it (*Peter* calls it a *resisting of the Holy Ghost*) because that *wilfully* and *wickedly*, against *Knowledge*, and against *Conscience*, they *contemned his person*, *reproached his Life*, *Miracles*, *Doctrine*, and *labourd the multitude to believe and report such things of him which they themselves must needs know were both false and slanderous*: And all this for the *carrying* on of their *hypocriticall pomp*, and *vulgar esteem*. After which I added, that such who are *busie* to *suggest* false reports of men, and are desirous to *publish* such things of them which they know are *false*, on purpose to make them *odious*, that they may the better *compasse* some base end of their own, and make no *conscience* of *what* they report, but only labour that they may get *credit* to it, such men as these are in that *way* which leadeth to that sin, which is the sin which shall not be *forgiven*. And indeed such men do so properly perform the Devils work (for he is *Calumniator*, a Malicious slanderer) that it is the *great pity* or *mercy of God*, that they are not with him for their Wages.

Acts 7. 51.

This was the sum of the Discourse which I made upon that part: And if I shall be convinced of any thing therein as contrary to *good Doctrine* or *good Manners*, as containing any thing *false* or *unseasonable*, I shall most willingly retract it; and be *beholding* to the man that shall instruct me better: Till then I shall remain in

the ſame minde as formerly I was, but ſh
not ceaſe to *wonder* at ſome body, (and co
ſidering that it was the wickedneſſe of t
Phariſees which *occaſioned* this Diſcourſe,
likewiſe conſidering the *end* which in likel
hood hath befaln them for this wickedneſſ
I ſay conſidering theſe things, I cannot b
Tert. Phil. Temiror. Antoni. &c. wonder at *ſome body*, as *Cicero* did at *Mar. A
thony*, *I wonder at thee Anthony that thou d
not tremble at thoſe mens ends whoſe Actions th
doſt imitate.*

Sect. 30. I muſt trouble thy patience a little furth
about this ſame *Tho. Powel*: I have alread
told thee what I ſpake, as likewiſe the occ
ſion upon which I ſpake it: But now wh
ſhould *Thomas Powel* take this amiſs, and kee
it ſo long in his minde, and *article* again
me for preaching againſt *Malice?* 'Tis we
known, that (if deducible by good conſ
quence from the Text) I was as plain, and
high againſt others as againſt the *Malicio*
was Malice at this time *Tho. Powels Herodia
This it is for a man to have a *guilty Conſcie*
about him: He confeſſeth himſelf guilty
the *crime* by his fretting and ſtorming at t
reproof. I can cleerly ſay, that my *Pulpit* R
proofs were far from *particulariſing* of perſo
yet I ſhall give thee another *conjecture*, upo
which *Thomas Powel* might imagine that
that *diſcourſe* after an eſpeciall manner I *aim*
at him.

Abo

About the year 1651. there happened some difference betwixt this *Thomas Powel* and *Robert Reynalds* the Clark of the Pariſh; the perſon whom I ſaid that this *Thomas Powel* maliciouſly and ſpitefully proſecuted. Of him *Thomas Powel* complains, and before ſome *Juſtices* of the Peace takes his Oath, or procures *William Cottle* to ſwear it, that *Rainalds* had ſold Beer on the *Lords day*, as likewiſe by *Unlawfull Meaſures*. *Sect.* 31. *Sect.* 24.

Here I ſhall deſire thee to obſerve,

1. That he neglects our own Neighbouring *Juſtices*, and makes his complaint before *Juſtices* of another Diviſion.

2. This Oath was meerly upon Hear-ſay.

3. That the complaint is only againſt him that ſold, no mention made of him or them that bought.

I ſhall have nothing to ſay touching the firſt of theſe: But now as to the Second, that this Oath was only on Hear-ſay, I am confident that *Tho. Powel* dares not ſay that he ſaw it, or knew of it, but only by report: And here *William Pinchin* and *Tho. Powel* concur again: *William Pinchin* ſwears touching things done at *Box*, when as he was then at *Broughton*, and *William Cottle* or *Thomas Powel* ſwear of ſelling of *Ale* at *Rainalds*, whenas perchance they were abroad at ſome other *Alehouſe*, or aſleep at home. But now as to the third thing: If he knew that *Robert*

Rainalds ſold *Ale* on the *Lords day*, then muſt he needs know who bought it likewiſe, and how comes it that there is no mention made of him or them? There is a penalty to the one as well as to the other, and I take it, the like penalty to the one as to the other. And had it been pure *zeal*, and *zeal* like *Phinehas*, they had been *pares in peccato*, equall in the offence, ſo *Thomas Powel* would have made them like *Zimri* and *Cozbi pares in pœna*, equall in the puniſhment. Nay further, I am ſure that it will be made appear, that to *Thomas Powels* knowledge others have ſold *Ale* on that day, as well as *Rainalds*, yea and by as ſmall Meaſures, yea and that *Thomas Powel* hath been at the drinking of it, yea and hath paid part of the Reckoning; and yet we have not one word from *Thomas Powel* of this: And how comes he to be ſo zealous for the *Lords day*, and lawfull meaſures now? Certainly not out of any regard he had either to the one or the other, but to ſatisfie his own leven'd ſpleen, in doing *Rainalds* a diſcourteſie. This ſame partial indirect information was among the *Heathen* accounted moſt unjuſt and unworthy: *Quis hoc ſtatuit, quod æquum ſit in Quintium, id iniquum eſſe in Nevium?* But now amongſt the people of God (if proceeding from a *wrong* ground in the informer, as Envy, Malice, or the like, or looking towards a *wrong* end, as benefit to himſelf, or revenge or miſchief towards him againſt whom he gives the infor-

10 *s.* apiece *Addit. Ordin.* imprinted 1650.

Num. 25. 8.

Cicer. pro. *Quintio.*

information) it was accounted a *lye*, although the Informer had ſpoken nothing but the *truth*. And when it ſhall be upon Oath that a man affirms ſo, I doubt not but that as he who *ſpeaks* ſo, *ſpeaks falſly*, ſo he that *ſwears* ſo, *ſwears falſly*. *Omnino idem ſit accedente juramento Perjurium, quod eſt in nuda pollicitatione Mendacium.* Pſal. 52. 2, 4. Dr. *Sanderſon, de jur. præl. 2. §6. in fine.*

Now poſſibly I might thus diſcourſe on theſe words, neer about the time that theſe differences depended betwixt *Tho. Powel* and his Neighbour, and *Thomas Powel* (for *Hypocrites* are very touchie) might cut his own heart with them; his conſcious breaſt giving him that when I reproved the fault, I meant him, and might watch for an opportunity (for *Hypocrites* are very revengefull) to do me ſome diſpleaſure. This I remember, when there was a *Jurie* at *Chippenham* imployed to enquire touching *Miniſters*, and the *value* of their Livings, this *Thomas Powel* and *William Pinchin*, and another Miller, I think they call'd him *Stanmore*, were as I heard very buſie about me, but then they had not *Commiſſioners* which were for their turns, and therefore as to my prejudice they did nothing. But ſince *Thomas Powel* makes this an *Article* againſt me, That I *preached againſt Malice, and ſaid that Malicious perſons were the Devils Nymphs*, I muſt needs conclude him to be guilty of the crime; and I ſhall tell him further, that I have read of ſuch a one, (yea and a good one too) here- *Sect.* 32. Math. 12. 32.

Luke 11. 45. heretofore. *Master, thus saying, thou reproachest us also*: where you may observe that the *Lawyer* freely acknowledgeth himself guilty of those crimes which our *Blessed Saviour* there reproves; and yet the impudent proud thing counts himself *slandered* or *reproached* in that he is told of them.

ἢ ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζεις.

Sect. 33. We have no more to say touching the *Depositions* which were taken at this time: But yet for a Conclusion to the *Transactions* of this day, give me leave to observe a few things unto thee.

1. That the Deposition of *Mary Workman*, who was examined upon all the *Articles*, and that Deposition carefully taken, (for said Mr. *Blisset*, she was a *Midwife, and so might know much*) is wholly left out.

Sect. 19. 2. I told thee before that *Obadiah Cheltenham* then thwarted with a witnesse which was this *Mary Workman*, he then affirming when she had denyed it, *that I had within a quarter of a year, signed two Children with the sign of the Crosse, she holding them in her arms; which he said were the Children of Mr.* Speke, *and Mr.* Snell. This made the poor woman amazed, considering that *Obadiah Cheltenham* being sworn with her self but a little before to *speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth*; and she rightly conceiving that the same Oath bound him still all the while he was before these *Commissioners*, and speaking to my business, I say it made her amazed, that

Quid jurent? de veritate dicenda non modo super articulis datis, sed in iis omnibus quæ ad causam faciunt. Cod. lib. 4. num. 9. in marg. ad literam a.

that *he should swear that I signed two Children within a quarter of a year*, when as one of those Children, Mr. *Speke's* was Baptized *Octob.* 28. 1653. and almost a year older then the Ordinance by which these *Commissioners* sate and acted. Another Circumstance for Mr. *Blisset*.

Nor must it be forgotten, that at such time as *William Pinchin* was giving in his Testimony touching my use of the Form of *Common Prayer*, he having informed that I began with the *Lords Prayer*, and afterward read *some Psalms*, Mr. *Byfield* asks him whether after the end of the Psalms, I said, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.* He then asked likewise whether (after I had Baptized Children) I said, *Forasmuch as this Childe is regenerate.* I remember not what Answer *William Pinchin* made to one or other. But to me Mr. *Byfield* seems to intimate by his Questions, that it should have been matter of Charge against me if I had used either. I assure thee *Reader* that this made me wonder: And what may there be in that *Doxology* that should offend Mr. *Byfield*? the thing it self? and is it a crime to give glory to the *Blessed Trinity*? or will he be angry with us because we say as the Heavenly Host did, *Glory to God in the Highest*? Were we not all *Baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*? Which I conceive to mean more then *Beza's Invocato nomine Dei Patris*, &c. and to import as much as to *devote our selves unto, or* Sect. 34. Luk. 2.14.

to

to resign our selves up to the service of the Blessed Trinity: And are we charged for this, that we now make publique profession of it? or was it disliked by him because looked upon now as altogether useless, it being composed by the *Council* of *Nice*, in confutation of the *Heresie* of *Arrius*? But now what if I should prove it to be more ancient then that *Council*, and formerly put to another use, and that those *Fathers* did not so much constitute as quote it: and quote it thereby to overthrow the *Blasphemy* of the *Arrian*, because it was contrary to that *Doxology*, which was appointed in the *Apostolical* and *Primitive* times? But yet admitting that *Heresie* to have been the cause of it, is it therefore now a crime, such a crime as may deserve ejectment to continue it? is our Field, our *Church* so free from those Tares? is the Orthodox Doctrine of the *Trinity* so sincerely taught and believed, and so unanimously? Tell me, you *Reformers* have you never since you began your *Reformation*, heard of some that have pluckt off no lesse then *two* of *three* of the *persons* of the *Blessed Trinity*? stripping one of his *Being*, another of his *Deity*? and indeed had I not found it by experience, I should not have believed it, that the use of this *Doxology* should be imputed to a *Minister* as a crime, or that a man should be reputed *scandalous* for this, because he made publique profession that he was no *Arrian*.

And

And as touching Mr. *Byfields* next Query, *Whether I ſaid ſoruſmuch as this Childe is regenerate?* I anſwer, that I believe that Mr. *Byfield* had ſmall minde to ingage himſelf or me in any of the publique *Schools* on that Queſtion touching *Baptiſmal Regeneration*, poſſibly he might have read what Dr. *Burges* and Mr. *Bedford* have ſaid upon the ſame Argument; yea even Mr. *Baxter* himſelf doubts not but that *Baptiſme* is *an Inſtrument of relative Regeneration and Sanctification.* But to put this matter (as to Mr. *Byfield*) out of doubt. In that Confeſſion of Faith ſet out by the *Aſſembly* (whereunto there was no doubt, Mr. *Byfields* conſent and approbation as well as his hand) we have theſe words: Sect. 35. *Saints Reſt*, part 1. pag. 162. *mihi*.

Baptiſme is a Sacrament of the New Teſtament, ordained by Jeſus Chriſt, not only for the ſolemn admiſſion of the party baptized into the Viſible Church, but alſo to be unto him a Sign and Seal of the Covenant of Grace, of his ingrafting into Chriſt, of Regeneration. *Cap.* 28. *Num.* 1. Tit. 3. 5. In Marg.

Doth Mr. *Byfield* under his hand acknowledge it to be a *Sign*, and *Seal of Regeneration*, and yet is it in his judgement a crime in me to ſay ſo? If it be among men, when once a man hath put to his *Sign* and *Seal*, the perſon ſo ingaging, as to all purpoſes and Covenants expreſſed in that Inſtrument, ſtands *obliged* to make them good: and the perſon to whom the Grant is made, will from that day reſt himſelf *aſſured* of his Bargain, becauſe he

he hath it under *hand* and *Seal*. And dares any ſay that the Covenant of *God* is not *Authentick*, when as he hath put his Sign and Seal to it? and if it be *Authentick*, can it be a fault in a *Miniſter* to publiſh ſo much? I ſhall ſum up all into an Argument thus:

Num. 4.

Baptiſme is a *Sign* and *Seal* of Regeneration to Infants, of Believing Parents: But the Childe or Children by me Baptized were ſuch: Therefore it is a Sign, and Seal of Regeneration to them.

Mr. *Byfield* hath under his hand acknowledged the *major Propoſition*, and the *minor* he dares not deny; and yet he was angry with me for inferring and pronouncing the *Concluſion*. Certainly his Spleen conceived againſt the *Liturgy*, had now ſo far prevailed upon him, that in his Paſſion he forgets what he had formerly wriiten and publiſhed for *Orthodox*. So that me thinks Mr. *Byfield* might have then done as did one of whom I have heard heretofore, who ſtiffly *denying* a thing wherewith he was *charged*, and after being *convicted* of the truth of that Charge by a *Writing* under his own *hand*, fell to ſmite and complain of his Head in ſome ſuch upbraiding words as theſe, *Why Head, Head, Head, haſt thou forgotten what thy Hands have wrote.*

But

But I ſhall put an end to the *Tranſactions* of this day, deſiring the *Reader* to obſerve only this, that as we were leaving the Room about Eleven or Twelve of the *Clock* at *night*, *William Pinchin* and *Obadiah Cheltenham* delivered in a Paper to one of the *Commiſſioners*, which (as we gueſſed by the Sequel) contained either that they had other matter of Charge, or elſe ſome other Witneſſes which they deſired might be heard againſt me. Sect. 36.

The

The Tranſactions at my Third time of appearing before them at the White Hart in Marlburrough, May 8. and 9. 1656.

Sect. 1. SHortly after my being at *Lavington*, there came a piece of Paper unto me in theſe words:

Mr. BUSHNELL,

YOu are hereby required to take notice, that the Commiſſioners for Ejecting Scandalous Miniſters, have appointed their next meeting at the Sign of the White Hart *in* Marlburrough, *to be holden on Thurſday the* 8 *of* May *next, by Nine of the Clock in the Forenoon; when and where they expect and require your appearance before them, with your Witneſſes for your defenſe to receive their judgment according to the demerit of your Cauſes.*

For Mr. *Walter* Bushnell Miniſter of *Box*, theſe.

29 of *April*, 1656.

Signed in the Name and by the Order of the Commiſſioners, by me Will. Bliſſet.

In

In order whereunto I repair unto *Malbur-* Sect. 2.
ough, where I find at the *White Hart* a very great appearance. For the Common-wealth, ſummoned in by the procurement of *William Pinchin*, there appeared (beſides *William Pinchin*) *Thomas Powel*, *William Clement*, *Nicholas Spencer*, *John Cottle*, *William Rawlin's*, *Thomas Steven's*, *Anthony Balden*, *William Cottle* of *Rudlee*, *Henry Harris*, *John Harding*, (*Obadiah Cheltenham* being gone thence for *London* that morning) Theſe being all ſworn, were required to ſpeak to the *Articles*. But before any depoſition was taken, Mr. *Byfield* made a motion that all my Witneſſes (for I had many at that time there) might be withdrawn or turned out, whiles the Witneſſes for the Common-wealth were in examination; giving this reaſon, *That it was not meet that they ſhould hear what the other Witneſſes teſtified.* Not meet indeed, for they would have noted and remembred many of their *Contradictions* and *Perjuries*, which Mr. *Byfield* would not that they ſhould be publique. This man in his proceedings deſiring to be as cloſe and as juſt as the *Inquiſition*. This motion of his was ſoon condeſcended unto, and accordingly put in practice: he had before taken order that I ſhould have no *copy* of their depoſitions, from the *Clerk*; which order was ſo ſtrictly obſerved, that (which was ſtrange) even *money* would not procure it; and here he takes a courſe

that we ſhall not hear them from their *mouths*. But now when my Witneſſes came to be examined, the others were permitted to ſtay ſtill, yea and encouraged to contradict, controll, except againſt, and turn back whom they pleaſed; of which the Reader ſhall have more hereafter.

Sect. 3. The leading men at this time were *William Pinchin* and *Tho. Powell*, who (for in the *Clerks* Copy they are both yoked together) depoſe thus, *That about ſeven years ſince Mr.* Buſhnell *drank ſo hard upon the Lord's day (as they then conceived) that when he was at Church he could ſcarcely read plain and diſtinctly, and* John Jones *and* Lawrence Pinchin *came from his houſe with him.*

Sect. 4. Where I ſhall offer to thy conſideration:

1. That whereas *Thomas Powell* ſwore formerly in *William Pinchin's track*, here they ſwear in a *breaſt* together.

2. That they had both ſworn before that they never ſaw me *drunk*, or *drinking to exceſs*, and yet now upon the matter, and by *conſequence* they *depoſe it.*

3. That this their depoſition is grounded meerly upon *conjecture*, neither of them ſeeing me drink a drop. Let us next ſee the Reaſons or grounds which moved them thus to conceit.

1. *When*

1. *When I was at Church I could ſcarcely read plain.*

2. *That* John Jones, *and* Lawrence Pinchin *came from my houſe with me.*

As to the firſt [*When I was at Church I could ſcarce read plain*] and could no body obſerve this but *Thomas Powell* and *William Pinchin?* by what I have charged them with, and proved upon them in the *Tranſactions* of the former day, theſe two muſt needs appear, (to ſuch as are of *honeſty* or *diſcretion*) to be very unfit men and incompetent Witneſſes againſt me, much leſſe to be ring leaders to the reſt. I am confident that there were more at *Church* at that time as well as they, and ſuch as were as *attentive* and *ſate* as neer as they; and how comes it about that *William Pinchin* could find no fellow-hearing mate but *Tho. Powel?* This may be the reaſon of it, *Thomas Powell* had the laſt day approved himſelf to be a very hopeful Scholler, and having then depoſed, that *about two years ſince, I ſaid, that Malicious perſons were the Devils Nimphs*; he might well depoſe now that *about ſeven years ſince I could ſcarcely read plain*; And yet ſhould I ask them, what *Chapter* or *Pſalm* it was, or in what *words* I faultered, I believe (for all their good memories) they would ſay that they could not remember it: if the faultering had been often, the *Congregation* muſt needs have noted it; and if but once, how come they to forget what it

Sect. 5.

was? And in such cases I conceive it neces-
ry that *depositions* and *examinations* should d-
scend to particulars, and as they had charg-
me with *indistinct* reading, so ought they
have given *instance* wherein I faild. If th-
had charged me with Treasonable words,
Lascivious debosht speeches, it would ha-
been demanded, But what were those word-
What were those speeches? I told thee n-
long since what an excellent faculty *Tho-*
Powell had to remember, when he came
perticulars; and I believe that at this ti-
(had they been urged to it) we should ha-
had some such wise answer now as we h-
then; it was at this time that *William Pinc-*
informs upon Oath that I had used some
the *Common-Prayer* at the *Thanksgiving* for h-
Wife; and being asked what I said, he a-
swered, that I prayed that the *Moon* shou-
not *burn* her by *day*, nor the *Sun* by *nigh-*
doubtless this man remembers himself acco-
dingly as he teacheth *Tho. Powell.*

Sect. 6. But Farther, in case I read not plain, th-
cause might not be in me, but in the boo-
wherein there are many *Typographical* Error-
some of which I might unexpectedly light o-
It might proceed likewise from dimness o-
sight, darkness of the afternoon, or fro-
many causes beside. But if they will nee-
have it that he who reads *indistinctly* must n-
doubtedly have *drank hard* before, I sha-
fro-

rom their *Antecedent* infer this *concluſion*, hat their man ſince at *Box* never came to hurch *ſober*, for I have heard from ſome of he place that he hath not read a *Chapter* ain and *diſtinctly* ſince he came among hem.

And to what end is this added that *John* Sect. 7.
ones, and *Lawrence Pinchin* came from my ouſe with me? The one is my *Uncle*, the ther my *Brother in Law*; living both in *Corſham* ariſh, a Pariſh next adjoyning. Touching hoſe behaviour if you enquire of their neigh-ours, I believe you ſhall be anſwered, that it ſober and civill; unleſs *William Pinchin* or me ſuch like ſeduce them into their compa-y. And as touching the occaſion which rew them thither, I am confident that it as far more warrantable then what hath rawn *William Pinchin* on *Lords days* to *Brough-*, or *Thomas Powell* (on the *ſame day* too) to n *Alehouſe* at *Corſham*. I am apt to think that main reaſon (beſides his *malice*) which moved *illiam Pinchin* to ſwear *that there was hard inking at my houſe*, was this, becauſe it is his ual cuſtom to do ſo at his own; for I can ake it appear unto thee, that this *William inchin* together with no leſſe then *four* of thoſe ho have appeared againſt me, have at his ouſe from *Saturday night* till *Sunday morning*, te up *drinking* and *ſinging*, *dancing* and *quar-ling*, inſomuch that *William Pinchin* con-

ducted his Neighbour *Cheltenham* on his wa homeward, belike for fear he ſhould be a ſaulted.

Sect. 8. There was at this time another clauſe i their joynt Depoſition, as rational as th former, and it was this: That when *John Jon* and *Lawrence Pinchin* came to *Church they ha high colours*. Whether this clauſe were eve taken, or whether *Index Expurgatorius* hat daſht it out, I cannot ſay. But of this I a ſure that ſome diſcourſe there was about in my hearing, while the *Depoſitions* were i taking: and as I have heard among the *Com miſſioners* after they had dined, when an where it was obſerved that *ſome of them* (havin feaſted themſelves belike at the coſt of *Incide charges*) had very *high colours*: and this migh be the cauſe why this branch ſhould be cu off, becauſe that from this *dangerous Topick* the ſame concluſion might be drawn again ſome of themſelves. But now as touchin *John Jones* and *Lawrence Pinchin* (admittin it were as they ſwore yet) their colours coul be no argument of their hard drinking, fo they that know them, ſeldom ſee them other wiſe, but at all times and ſeaſons, high co loured and ruddy. If arguments may be de duced from complexions, I ſhould then hav argued with Mr. *Byfield*, That if *ruddy com plexions* be a competent *medium* to prove ex ceſſive drinking, in them that look ſo; then that

that *pale, wand, livery countenances* were a competent *medium* to prove an exceſſe of envy or malice in them that look ſo.

Next comes *William Pinchin* alone in theſe words, *And this Deponent* Pinchin *ſaith farther, That about five or ſix years ſince, Mr.* Buſhnel *was at a Stabbal match with Mr.* Edward Long *and others, when they came to* Rainalds *Ale-houſe aforeſaid (this deponent being one of the company) and there they drank very hard, and healths were put round, and Mr.* Buſhnell *drank them with his Hat off, and did then drink exceſſively as this Deponent conceives.* *Sect.* 9.

Where firſt I ſhal deſire thee to obſerve that *William Pinchin* in this Depoſition ſeems to contradict what he had ſworn before. There he ſwears *that he cannot ſay that he ever ſaw me drunk*; and *yet now that about five or ſix years agone in his company I drank exceſſively, which is as much as if he had ſworne I was drunk.* Tis like enough he may ſay (tis uſual for him ſo to do) that at that time he did not mind it; but ſince *ſearching* and *beſtirring* of his memory, he hath by recollecting of himſelf recovered it, and can depoſe accordingly; and now give me leave to tell thee (for this was not the firſt time that he made uſe of it) of the ſtrange faculty of *this man*; to ſee what *gradations* and *pauſes* he makes in his Depoſitions, how he remembers beſt at a diſtance! how he *m ds* *Sect.* 10. Sect. 3. 2 day.

himſelf in his recollections, and can ſwear more punctually of a thing done *many years* agone, then he could when it was but *newly acted*, and this is remarkable, that his *ſecond thoughts*, his *rouſed Oathes*, are moſt pernicious: he never ſwearing ſo *deſperately* as when he hath moſt *bethought himſelf*, which will give any intelligent man cauſe to think, that what he depoſeth in the *ſecond* or *third place*, he doth not *remember*, but *invent*.

Sect. 11. I ſhall inſtance touching this man, in a
Jan. 8. particular beſides my own, *in the year* 1646. he ſwore before the Committee of *Wilts*, ſitting then at *Marlborough* that he had *heard* that Mr. *Speke* rode *in Arms in the Kings Quarters*; but in the *year* 1656. he ſwears before
Decimators. ſome Commiſſioners ſitting at the *Devizes*, that he had *ſeen* Mr. *Speke* ride armed in a Troop of the Kings part, along by his Fathers houſe; which clauſe of the Depoſition *riding Armed in the Troop* muſt needs refer to ſome time before the *year* 1646. Then he could depoſe only that he *Heard* of ſuch a thing; but *ten* years after he can depoſe that he *Saw* it, which he ſwears accordingly. Touching which Depoſition although the *Gent.* ſuffered ſome prejudice in his Eſtate, but more in his thoughts, yet he ſeemed to be of the ſame mind, as an *Eminent Knight* once was, who being falſly accuſed upon Oath, replies, that *he was more ſorry for the witneſſe*

his

his perjury, then he was for his own danger. This Gent. Mr. *George Speke* (although he freely forgave him, and prayed that God would forgive him likewiſe, yet) even to his dying day often proteſted, and by ſuch ſtrong aſſeverations, wherein he called God to witneſſe, (which amounts to a voluntary Oath) that *VVilliam Pinchin* had *ſworne falſly againſt* him.

Dr. *Sanderſon, de jur. præl.* 1. § 4. *in fine.*

This and ſome ſuch like paſſages gave a Countrey *farmer* (as I have heard) occaſion to ſay, that *VVilliam Pinchin* in his Depoſitions did uſually *fetch Trip*, it is like that his alluſion might be to *running Leapers*; with whom it is not uſual to do their *beſt* at firſt, but they eſſay *again* and *again*, and in their latter ever ſtriving to out do the former, in order whereunto they *fetch the larger* or *ſwifter Trip*. Now obſerve how *VVilliam Pinchin* obſerves this method in his ſwearing. *Sect.* 12.

1. Againſt Mr. *Speke*, againſt whom he *ſweares*, firſt, That he had *Heard* that he rode in Armes; but now this would not carry it, nor reach the mark at which he aimed, and therefore the next time he *fetcheth a ſwifter Trip*, and *ſwears* that he *Saw* it.

The like againſt me at *Lavington*, he *ſwears*, *that although he hath ſeen me drinking yet he could not ſay that ever he ſaw me drunk*, but now this Oath was not mortal, nor did it cleave the hair; and therefore he fetcheth a *ſwifter Trip*

Trip at *Malburrough*, and *ſwears that he conceives that I drank to exceſs in his company.* He would have made the *Commiſſioners* believe at their laſt ſitting at *Lavington* that he had ſworne *farther* yet, and that the *Clerk* had not taken it; but the *Clerk* offering to depoſe that after he had in private a peruſal of the depoſitions, with a power to add, alter, or amend what he pleaſed (for this was a favour which was ſhewen them) and that *VVilliam Pinchin* had left it as the *Clerk* had enterred it, there was an end put to his *leaping or fetching Trip* any more.

Sect. 13. And now methinks *VVilliam Pinchin* ſhews himſelf like ſuch a witneſs which the chief *Prieſts* and *Elders* ſought for heretofore, and could not find; for after their utmoſt ſearch tis ſaid of theirs *that neither ſo did their witneſs*
Mark 14. *agree together*; which *diſagreement*, or *inequality*,
59. or *imparity* of their teſtimony, I conceive lay not ſo much or only in this that they *thwar-*
—14 58. *ted one with another*: (For St. *Mark* reports both the Witneſſes as teſtifying the ſame thing) as it lay in this that take it at moſt, and ſtretch it out to the utmoſt, yet that it did not reach
Mat. 26. unto, but fell ſhort of the thing which the
59. *chief Prieſts* and *Elders* aimed at, and that was
Mark 14. to put our *Bleſſed Saviour to death*; for theſe
55. *righteous men* knew that all which hitherto been
Vide Grot. in Mat. 14. teſtified would not before *Pilate* amount to
56. ſo much as to make him *worthy of death*, and therefore

therefore it is ſaid, that neither ſo was their witneſs *Non Equalis*, *par*, or *conveniens*: not equal, or alike, or agreeing, becauſe it was not *anſwerable* to the deſires and deſignes of the *chief Prieſts* and *Elders*. But notwithſtanding they had teſtified *beſide*, *againſt*, *beyond* the truth, yet they ſtill came ſhort of the *ſuborners malice*. Now in ſuch a caſe *William Pinchin* would have fetcht trip; and if he had fallen ſhort at one time, his memory ſhould have ſerved him, and he would have reacht it at the next. So that his former *Oaths* did upon the matter make him *finde his legs*, or give him *aime* how to cleave the pin, having been wide, ſhort, or over ſhot before. And here let me obſerve this unto thee, touching ſuch who *ſwear* out of *malice*, & ſuch who *ſwear* for a *reward*. They *both* agree in this, that neither the one, nor the other *regards* the truth; but the *malicious* ſwears any thing that will do a *miſchief*; the *hireling* any thing that he is *taught*: the *firſt* looks upon the *penalty* of the Law, and ſwears not the truth, but whatſoever ſhall render a man *obnoxious*; the *other* looks upon the *reward*, and ſwears (not the truth neither, but) any thing which may procure *his wages*; nor is it unuſuall but that he who hath ſo much malice as to ſwear *falſly* himſelf, will find ſo much money or ſomewhat æquivalent, which ſhall prevail with ſome other ſo far as to *ſwear* as he *would have him*. It being commonly ſeen that the malicious

malicious murderous ſpirits *bait* the Hook, for the greedy and hungry to *bite* at and *ſwallow*. Of this the Reader ſhall have examples in this *VVilliam Pinchin* and others hereafter, as they fall in their proper place .

Sect. 14. But let us deſcend to particulars and take *VVilliam Pinchins* Depoſition apart.

1. *He depoſeth that I was at a Stabbal match with* Mr. Long, *and others.*

2. *That afterward we came to* Rainalds *Alehouſe.*

3. *That he was one of the Company.*

4. *That there they drank very hard.*

5. *That healths were put round, and that I drank them with my Hat off*, &c.

As touching the firſt of theſe, if by being at a *Stabbal* match, his meaning be, that I was a *Spectator* there, then it might be true: if his meaning be, that I was there as a *Gameſter*, then it was falſe. And what a crime it is to be there as *a looker on*, (or indeed as making one in the recreation) I am yet to learn. Thoſe that there plaid were *Gentlemen* of as good rank and repute as were moſt in thoſe neighbouring parts; and there they ſometimes met to recreate themſelves at that Exerciſe, it being an uſual game in that place; and it is like enough that it might be their pleaſure to ſend to me, being of their *ancient acquaintance*, as having been *born* and *breed among* them; brought up at the *ſame time*, at the *ſame School* with them;

them; and afterwards at the ſame time with ſome of them at the *ſame Univerſity*; upon which accounts thither I might come, and be then and there a looker on. And yet all this, (by their leave) with far leſſe juſt cauſe of *ſcandal* or *diſrepute* to my profeſſion, then to be at *Markets* or *Fairs*, *buying* and *ſelling*, *chopping* and *changing*, *matching* and *meaſuring Colts* and *Horſes*, amongſt *jockeis* and *horſe-courſers*.

I add 2. That Mr. *Edward Long* might be then and there in the Company, and others likewiſe, but now how comes it about that ſome of thoſe others are not expreſſed in particular as well as Mr. *Long*? I muſt tell the Reader, that *index Expurgatorius* hath been here again; for upon my croſſe Examination, I deſired that *William Pinchin* might be required to inſtance in ſome particulars, in ſome other perſons beſide, which were there with Mr. *Long*, *my ſelf*, and *et cætera*, as conceiving it to be ſomewhat ridiculous that it ſhould be informed, that Mr. *Long ſhould play at Stabbal with* &c. or *that* &c. ſhould come to *Rainalds* and *drink healths with Hats off*; all know *actus eſſe ſuppoſitorum*, that it is the *perſon* that Acts, and not the *ſpecies*, or the *individum vagum*. To which *William Pinchin* anſwers, that beſides Mr. *Long*, *my ſelf*, and *&c.* there were Mr. *Ducket*, and my *Brother*. This I deſired might be taken and entred accordingly, and Mr. *Chambers* (being then neer to the *Clerk*) told me that it was *Sect.* 15.

was ſo entred, and yet we ſee not one word of of it in the Depoſitions which we were to plead unto: And it is like enough that this was the reaſon why it was daſht out, Mr. *Ducket* and my *Brother* were both living, and ſhortly afterwards before theſe Commiſſioners ready to *vindicate* both themſelves and me, and therefore it was requiſite that they ſhould be left out; but now Mr. *Long* being dead, *and &c.* no body, might be kept in as moſt competent pot Companions with me, for Mr. *Long* being not to be recalled, *and &c.* no where to be found, could not with any poſſibility be called upon, to ſpeak any thing either for themſelves or me. And here let me obſerve this unto thee, that as Companions in my intemperance they either quote ſuch who are *dead*, and *cannot ſpeak*, or if *living*, then are they ſuch which *they are reſolved* not to *hear*. I could willingly add ſomething touching that *Gentleman* Mr. *Long*, this is the ſecond time that (in this buſineſs) his name hath been in Queſtion to his *diſrepute* long after he was dead; but they have not yet done him all the wrong that they intend, and therefore I ſhall ſuſpend what I have to ſay of him, till we hear of him again.

Sect: 16. And as to the next thing, *To* Rainalds *we might come.* That was the houſe where theſe *Gentlemen* uſually dined, and it is not impoſſible but that this Deponent might be in the Company.

Company. But now I ſhall add, as with reference to my ſelf that that Clauſe [*of his being in the Company*] renders the following paſſages (*that I drank hard, that healths were put round, that I drank with my hat off, and then drank to Exceſs*) even impoſſible to be true. I remember that that ingenuous Knight Sir *Tho. Moore* obſerves it in *Richard* the *Third*, That *Ambition* and *Malice* had ſo far tranſported him, that in the contrivance of his deſigns, and the laying of his ſcene, he very far overſhot himſelf in point of common diſcretion, and rational politie; for (ſaith he) *Richard* pretending his bodie to be wafted with ſorcery, and Witchcraft, he *charges* his *Brothers* wife the *Queen* as a *Sorcereſs*, and *Shores* wife as *Witch of her councel*, for working this miſchief towards him: Whereas (*ſayes that obſervative Knight*) beſides that the *Queen* was too wiſe to go about any ſuch folly, yet if ſhe would, of all others ſhe would not have made *Shores* wife of her *councel*, whom of all women ſhe moſt hated. Proportionably ſay I, If I had been at any time *intemperately* given, or *ſo idely diſpoſed* as to dring too much, yet certainly this could never be where *William Pinchin* was; I ſhould not in any wiſe have made him my *companion*; for ſince I had any right underſtanding of his conditions (and that was *in the year* 1645. as I ſhall tell the more anon) I diſcoverd a maſſe of ſuch ingredients in him which were enough to denominate a man baſe

base and *unworthy*; and these further confirmed to me, by *continued* and *frequent*, *barbarous* and *base pranks* and *practises* which had that *influence* upon me, that from that time (as much as I could) I *shund* his *company*, much more his *familiarity* or *intimacy*, finding in him *too much* of what might be *detested* or *feared*; but *nothing* of that which might be *desired* or *loved*. And doth he now quote himself, together with Mr. *Edward Long*, *and &c.* to be both a witness and companion of my *intemperance*? I have a confidence that those who well know both *William Pinchin*, and *my self*, will conclude, that there was no such thing, because *William Pinchin* sayes that *he was then in the company*.

Sect. 17. And observe next, whether he doth not *swear* like a jolly fellow indeed, as if his hand were in, *That there they drank very hard*, &c. this *Deponent being one of the Company*. From whence it must needs follow, *That he himself likewise was one who drank very hard, that drank healths with his Hat off, and that drank to excess*, and yet such is his *malicious impudence*, that he chargeth me of those crimes whereof he acknowledgeth himself to have been *guilty* of at the *same time*; which is much worse then
Joh. 8. those worst of men, the *Hypocritical Pharisees* and *Scribes* (the *Godly* of those times Mr. *Chambers*) for these although justly convicted, and throughly shamed and silenced, yet that

we

we read of, were neither guilty of, nor e-
ver confeſt the crime whereof they accuſed
the woman. I have read the *Fable*, I have read
the *Moral* of it too; but here we have an ex-
ample of an *envious man*, who ſticks not to pull
out *one* of his own eyes, ſo that his *neighbour*
might loſe both his; in caſe that had been
true which he informed (which was moſt
falſe) yet in him it had been moſt *falſe* and
baſe, becauſe *envy* and *malice* put him upon it.
But now what name is bad enough for it, if
envy and *malice* did not only put him upon it
to *report*, but to *invent* it likewiſe? I have read
and heard of thoſe who have employed them-
ſelves, or been imployed by others, as *ſpies*, or
decoyes to *inſinuate* themſelves into mens affe-
ctions; to *mix* with them in deſperate deſigns;
to *like*, to *applaud* and be with the formoſt of
the Company, and all this, that they might af-
terward *betray* and *accuſe them*. But this (how
ever practiſed, how ever countenanced) *im-
ployment* alwayes looked upon as *unworthy a
Chriſtian*, yea or of a man, although the end
pretended be Safety or Security, or ſuch
which have the face of Good, and what ſuch
may expect, the *Apoſtle* tels us. But now of a man Rom. 3. 8.
that ſhould *belie himſelf* to *miſchief* his *neigh-* *whoſe con-*
bour, and *ſwear falſly againſt himſelf*, that there *demnation*
might be the more *poiſon* and *venome* in his *ac-* *is juſt.*
cuſation, of ſuch an one I have not read beſide
William Pinchin. The man that cometh neer-
eſt to him (as I remember) is that *Ama-*

2 Sam. 1. *lekite.* In this there lies a difference:

1. That this *Amalekite* only ſpeaks falſly of himſelfe; but *William Pinchin* ſweares falſly.

2 Sam. 4. 10. 2. This *Amalekite* belies himſelf *out of ſome hopes of reward which he expected*; but *William Pinchin* ſwears falſly againſt himſelf that he may do ſome greater *miſchief towards me*. There is a paſſage in that ſtory which the Commiſſioners might have then made very good uſe of. *David* there takes him at his word, and accordingly proceeds againſt him in theſe 2 Sam. 1. 16. words, *Thy blood be upon thy head, for thy mouth hath teſtified againſt thee*, and accordingly puniſheth him as a *Murtherer*. So might the Commiſſioners (for ſome of them were *Juſtices* of Peace) have ſaid to *William Pinchin*, *Thy mouth hath teſtified againſt thy ſelf; thy puniſhment be therefore on thine head*, and accordingly puniſhed him as a *Drunkard*. If *William Pinchins* Oath were true, then his *fact* was puniſhable; if falſe, then his *perjury*.

Sect. 18. But I ſhall not at preſent trouble the Reader any longer with *William Pinchin*; the next that preſents himſelf was *Nicholas Spencer*. And *he being ſworn*, ſaith,

That he hath been oft with Mr. Buſhnel *at Alehouſes in Pariſh buſineſs, and not at other times, nor did he ever ſee him drink exceſſively.*

ennestively. But saith, that there they met by accident, and then discoursed of Parish business.

Prethee *Reader*, give me thy thoughts, Where lies the matter of *charge* in this Deposition? He sayes we have *there* met by accident, I presume he means at *Rainalds*; it is very likely as just occasions (*Robert Rainalds being* Clerk *of the Parish*) might draw me thither, as were those that drew him.

Next comes *VVilliam Clement*, and *he deposeth*: Sect. 19.

That in the time of the wars he found Mr. Bushnell *at* Rainalds *Alehouse*: *VVhen* Rainalds *told him that the King had lost a Garison to the Parliament; at which Mr.* Bushnell *struck his breast, and said he was sorry for it.*

Although I see no matter of charge against me in this Deposition, unless it were *scandalous* to be *Loyal*, yet let me add something touching the person who thus deposed, and with what affections he did it. I shall therefore here give thee to know, that this *VVilliam Clement* is Father in Law to *VVilliam Pinchin*, and that *VVilliam Pinchin* hath had a great hand over him, and hath *frightned* him to do that which

 I believe

I believe hath *troubled VVilliam Clement* more then the taking of any Oath whatsoever; of which thou shalt have more hereafter: for the present I shall only acquaint thee with what affections *VVilliam Clement* appeared against me, and afterward shall leave it to thee to Judge whether he had not some *malicious* and *spiteful* intentions which set him on work. Sometime after this *VVilliam Clement* meets with one *Thomas Morley*, of *Swanswick* neer *Bath*, whom (contrary to his former use) he bespeaks very *fair*, calling him *Couzen*, proffering him the *Beer*, that he was glad to see him, that he had been oftentimes coming to his house, or to some such purpose, but in the close, he fals to the business, which was, *That the Minister of* Box *was not right, that they were resolved to out him, that an especial witness which they had against him, was one* Sanders *who had done* Thomas Morly *some wrong* [That is, had broken open and robb'd his house] but in regard that this *Sanders* was so *material witness for their purpose*, his requeſt to him was, *That* Thomas Morly *would not at that time appear against him, because that might very much impair the credit of that witness, whose Testimony was so useful.* All that I shall now say touching this *VVilliam Clement* is only this, that he who laboured to stop another mans mouth from *speaking* a *truth* which might have been to my *behoof*, may rationally be conceived to *open* his *owne mouth* to *report*

a

a *falſhood* which might be to my *preju-*
dice.

The Tranſactions of this day do now draw towards an end; for although there be *ſeven* witneſſes yet behind, viz. *Anthony Balden*, *John Harding*, *John Cottle*, *VVilliam Rawlings*, *Thomas Stevens*, *Henry Harris*, and *VVilliam Cottle* of Ludlow for *his mother*; yet theſe being ſworn and examined upon the ſeveral *Articles*, had not one word to ſay to either; which made one of the Commiſſioners in a kind of wonder to *ask*, *Wherefore ſo many were ſummoned to appear having nothing to ſay?* I cannot but tell thee, that one of the *witneſſes* whom I named but now, conceived that at that time we ſhould have had an end of it, in regard that all that ſaid any thing which ſignified any matter of charge againſt me were *William Pinchin* and *Thomas Powel*, and in regard again, that it was ſo manifeſt that what they ſpake, they *ſpake out of malice*; which (ſaid he) the Commiſſioners having more underſtanding then we, muſt needs perceive; and ſo they did ſome of them, and one of them a *Miniſter* too, (to the *Doctors* credit be it ſpoken) reported it elſewhere. And yet wch. is ſtrange in this man, although he diſcovered their *leeven*, and ſo muſt know them to act from *baſe principles*, and with *reference to a baſe end*, yet he always vouchſafed to theſe men whom he knew thus to act, his *favorable countenance* and *furtherance*. I know that the com- *Sect.* 20.

pariſon would be *odious*, and therefore I will make none, only let me obſerve thus much
Mat. 27. 18. unto Dr. *Chambers*, That *Pilate* ſought to diſcharge the perſon accuſed before him, becauſe he perceived that they delivered him out of *Envy*; and it is commendable in him: but now here we have one acknowledging that the proſecution of theſe witneſſes proceeded from *malice*, and yet he backs and incourages the very worſt of them to go on.

Sect. 21. It was at this time that I deſired the Commiſſioners might have been informed upon Oath, what a manner of man *William Pinchin* had formerly been towards *Grand-father in law*, and *Grand mother*, *Father* and *Mother*, *Father in Law*, and *Mother in Law*, *Uncle* and *Aunt*, *Brother* and *Siſter*; and how *barbarouſly* he had uſed me, and what further *miſchief* he had threatned againſt me, for no other cauſe that I can imagine, but only for *entertaining*, *lodging*, *relieving*, *clothing*, *furniſhing with money* his *Father*, *Mother* and *Brother*, when he had beaten them out of doors; for I had a confidence that there were then amongſt the *Commiſſioners* ſome *Gentlemen* of diſcretion, and conſcience, who (having a right underſtanding of his qualities and conditions, and being informed how he had been ſeveral times complained of, and convicted before ſeveral *Juſtices of the Peace*, of ſuch horrid and barbarous crimes, as have ſcarcely

hereby been acted since *Cain*, and the *Father of Lies*, and *Absalom* lived upon the Earth, (All which I could then, and at this present can easily prove) would never have taken him for a *credible* witnesse, or have countenanced him as an *Informer*, or *Solicitor*, no nor so much as looked on him, unless it had been in *detestation*. But now none more forward to withstand and oppose this then Dr. *Chamberlain*, who knew much of it to be true, but was not willing 'tis like, that it should come to the knowledge of these *Gent.* for fear that he should thereby have lost so pretious a witnesse; or perhaps for fear that he should have heard something which would have nearly reflected on himself. This *Doctor* then acknowledging that there had been some small *differences* between them, praying that no more words might be made of it; together with an intimation that all differences were now composed, or to some such purpose: In order whereunto *William Pinchin* produces a large Paper which he had then in readiness, written by himself, containing a large story of his own making, acknowledging that there had been some *small differences among them*; that he had 500 *l.* with his Wife; and that all was now composed and well; or to that purpose. This Paper (being solemnly delivered in) was deliberately read by Mr. *Blisset*: That Mr. *Blisset* which would not then allow of *cousening*,

ning, and *Curſing*, and *Paricide* to be ſufficient exceptions againſt him or any man in point of Teſtimony. Theſe 'tis like he looked on as Circumſtances; and to tell thee my mind, when I had obſerved the manner of their proceedings, I could not but think of thoſe *Elders* and *Nobles* that condemned *Naboth*; who (notwithſtanding that they knew the witneſſes which appeared againſt him to be *Sons of Belial*, notwithſtanding they knew them to be falſe Witneſſes of their *own making*, yet) paſſed ſentence according to that falſe evidence which they themſelves had put into the Witneſſes mouths. But to return to the Paper, of all other paſſages I cannot forget this that he ſayes. *That now all differences were compoſed*; belike he means betwixt his *Father* and *himſelf*. And ſuch another Certificate might *Cain* have framed and delivered in, and have ſaid, 'that All was now ſweetly compoſed, and there were now no differences remaining betwixt him and his *Brother*, for that he himſelf had *murdered* him ſome certain years before. That good old man *William Pinchins* Father was dead near three years before this time: and although I cannot but believe that *God gathered him to his Grave in peace*: (ſo knowing what I know) I cannot think otherwiſe but that this Son of his *haſtened his fall*; and ſo although the Father were thereby

there by the sooner with God, yet we may well think that the Son is the farther from him by it: it being usual for wicked Children, Brothers, and other wicked men to hasten Gods servants to him by those wayes and means by which they ruine themselves. And although our Lawes repute none *Paricides* but such who lay violent hands on their *Parents*, and by some *blows* and *wounds* give them some *visible* cause of *death*; yet I doubt not, but that *Divine Justice* will look upon many for *Paricides* whom our Lawes do not reach; nor see I any cause to doubt of it, but that he who with *Frights*, with *Threats*, with *Curses*, with *Blows*, with *Gripes in the Throat*, with *drawing Knives*, with *continual horrid* and *barbarous vexations*, shall even break his Fathers heart, (and so much *William Pinchin* the Elder hath said that his Son would do by him) is as guilty of his bloud as if he had taken a Knife and stabbed him. And I could advise Mr. *Chambers* to admonish *William Pinchin* that he would sadly consider of it in *this his day*: And I am confident of it, that they had done better service both to the *Church of God* and to the *Common-wealth*, if (instead of *incouraging* him to swear *falsly* and *maliciously* himself, and *instructing others* to doe the like) they had spent some pains with him to have made him know,

that

that the *Voice of a Fathers bloud*, is farr more clamorous then the *Voice of a Brothers*.

Sect. 22. And it is more then Doctor *Chamber* knows, whether there have been any such Love and Unity amongst those who are there yet behind, as was then suggested and pretended to be. If he knows not of it already, I can tell him that since the time that I was thrust from *Ben*, there have been notable *clashing of Doores*, *gnashing of Teeth*, *sweet words* passing from the *Son* to the *Mother*, and great thwarting and crossing betwixt them in their business, it being *William Pinchins* custome to do by his *Mother* as he did by me. To doe himself *some mischief*, that he may doe his Mother a greater, pleasing himselfe in frighting away work and Custome from their Mill, as I have heard; belike thinking himselfe well satisfied with little or nothing, because his Mother doth thereby lose her half. The *Doctor*, if he aske the Neighbourhood, or the Servants, or the Children, may be told that there is little there that savours of a Cordial Union, or of a *Blessed Reformation*. Possibly it may not be so publique now as it hath been formerly: but in case she be forced out of her house, she dares not say

for that she was kickt or beaten; and in all she comes to any of her Neighbours, she must complain softly, and in a Chamber; and buy her relief, or else want it. The recompence which she hath made me, being a fair warning for any one to receive, relieve, or else to pity her. Nay more, Mr. *Stern* hath told me since I came to *Town*, that her Son hath used a means to force her not only out of her house, but out of the Country likewise.

At the same time it was that *William Pinchin* produced another Paper (I think he received it from *Thomas Powell*) as the *complaint of an honest man* (I think *he added Golly too*) *being at that time in the County of Sommerset*. The writing was but short, and the complaint as I remember; Sect. 23.

That he had lived so long under my Ministery, and was not profited; or to that purpose.

Which Paper upon my request they shew unto me, upon the view whereof I finde it to be the hand of *William Sergeant*, a man indeed living in *Sommerset*, but in a *Parish* adjoyning to *Box*, a considerable part of his Estate lying in that *Parish*; about the

Tithes

Tithes whereof (for he refuseth payment) he hath been questioned and cast by both *Sessions* and *Visor*; and so far proceeded against, that he lay in *Gaol* upon the same score even to his dying day. This man *William Sergeant* (by report) hath gone through all Opinions, and at that time was, and I think still continued as vehement a *Quaker*, as any whatsoever. Upon the redelivery of the Paper, I told them I had much to shew from the same man, and written by the same hand. Now by this the *Commissioners* might have guest what sort of men appeared against me, in that they laboured to strengthen themselves by such who are profest enemies to the Profession and Calling of Ministers. Nor was this the first time that they received Papers against me written by this *William Sergeant*. He it was that wrote the *Articles* against me, which were Exhibited by *John Travers*, his *Brother in Law*. But since he was in person before the *Commissioners* at my next time of my appearing, I shall trouble thee no more about him now, nor with any thing else touching the *Transactions* of this day.

He dyed in Ilchester Gaol, 1659.

From *Marlborough* after an Expensive Reckoning we are discharged: and notwithstanding the Warrant by which I appeared, expressed that I should then *receive judgement*

Judgement according to the demerit of my cause; yet as to Sentence there was nothing then done; belike the *Testimonies* came not up as yet to the *Expectations* of these *Commissioners*, for to Mr. *Byfields* and Dr. *Chambers* desires, for else *William Pinchin* might give them in another Paper, and that he had other Witnesses yet behind, that could swear farther and Testifie more; but for that time discharged I was untill another Summons.

The

The Tranſactions at my fourth time of appearing before them, June 4. & 5. at the George in Cāln.

BEing as I told thee thus diſcharged from *Marlborrough*, May 9. within ſome ſhort time after I received a piece of Paper from *John Travers* in theſe words: Sect. 1.

Mr. *Buſhnell*,

YOur appearance is expected before our Commiſſioners at their next meeting at the George *in* Caln, *Wedneſday the* 4. *of* June, *with your Witneſſes, for your further defence; if you intend any more.*

William Bliſſet *Clerk.*

14 May 1656.

Whether

Sect. 2. Whither we repair accordingly, and there we finde for the Common-wealth *William Pinchin*, *Jone Pinchin* his mother, *Elizabeth Pinchin* his Wife, *Peter Web*, *John Gibbons*, *Nicholas Spencer*, *Thomas Hayward*, *Ann* the Wife of *William Rawlins*, *William Cottle*, and *Henry Parsons* of *Box*, *John Gibbons* of *Corsham*, *John Travers* of *Slaughtenford*, *William Sergeant* of *Bathford*, *William Sanders* of *Chippenham*, *Obediah Cheltenham*, *Richard Cottle*, and *Lawrence Cottle* of *Ditcherridg*, who being all sworn were required to speak to the *Articles*, accordingly as they were proposed unto them.

Sect. 3. But before I descend to any particulars, I shall recommend to thy observation some few things. As

1. That *William Pinchin* at this time leaves off to be a *witness*, and now takes upon him and acts the part of a *Sollicitor*, or *Informer*, for (as I can prove) he *instructed* and *catechized* some of the *witnesses* before, and so far prevailed with them, that they were contented to swear not what they had *informed* him of, but accordingly as he had *written*; and afterward he marshals his Witnesses into a form, and accordingly as he looked upon his Paper they were called upon, and examined upon those *Articles* to which he referred them.

them. *Obadiah Cheltenham* being his assistant in the business; for notwithstanding it was much which they then said and did, yet we have not one word as from them in the Depositions which were taken that day.

2. I have told thee the last day, how no less then *seaven* of *William Pinchins* witnesses wholly disappointed him, and that two more said something to no purpose; so that he had none to stand by him then but his *honest* neighbour *Tho. Powel.* But now you may guess (having such *Hints* and *incouragements* from his *Commissioners* and *Doctors*, he hath by this time fitted himself with men proper for their purposes and his own; for he hath now procured men of all sorts, and from several quarters, not only *Parishes* but *Counties* likewise; nor is it any wonder if some of them (considering their own quality, the incouragements from those *Commissioners*, and the vertues of their *Tutor William Pinchin*) should *fetch trip*, and swear to the purpose. That he, (that is *William Pinchin*) *suborned* some to swear, and *tampered* with others, was, or would have been proved to the *Commissioners* faces: and this might be the cause why *Will. Pinchin* would not swear himself, because he had an assurance that he had now a sort of *approved lads* who would *swear* as he would have them; so that whatsoever is afterwards deposed you may look upon as *William Pinchins*, having got this advantage by it, that

whereas he ſwears formerly by himſelf, which could be lookt upon only as a *ſingle Teſtimony*: now he ſwears by many *proxies*, which may be lookt upon as ſeveral *Teſtimonies*: when in truth it is all *Pinchin* ſtill, although conveyed by other *pipes* and *feathers*.

Sect. 4. Nor muſt it be forgotten that Mr. *Byfield* (aſſoon as he had taken his pipe of *Tobacco*) coming from a window where formerly he was, made a propoſal *that all perſons whatſoever there preſent ſhould withdraw*: 'Tis thought that he had ſome farther propoſal to make, which was conceived to be touching ſome *Gentlemen* then in the room, whoſe preſence he did not (as it was thought) ſo well like of; but ſoon after we were all called in again, and all admitted excepting my Witneſſes; but Mr. *Byfield* would not by any means admit that they ſhould be in the hearing.

Sect. 5. Something I muſt tell thee likewiſe, touching *William Sargeant* whom I have lately mentioned. *John Gibbons* of *Corſham*, and he were both at *Caln* before the *Commiſſioners*; but both ſoon thruſt out of door becauſe they would not *take their Oaths*, and *keep off their Hats*. Now I have heard that all which *William Sargeant* had then to ſay was againſt the *calling*: and that his coming thither was to have ſpoken to Mr. *Chambers*, or Mr. *Byfield*; againſt whom I am confident they had far

greater

greater exceptions then againſt me. And that this was *William Sargeants buſineſs* at *Cain* appears by this; for it was he who after he was turned out of dores at *Cain* made that *great ſtir* beneath in the Court: 'twas he that then *ſcattered the printed Papers*, one whereof was brought up into the *Commiſſioners* Chamber and delivered to them by Mr. *Crump*, who was much troubled at it, and put into a great ſweat thereby. And now, is it not ſtrange that the *Commiſſioners* ſhould receive *Articles* and *Papers* againſt me, from ſuch *hands?* Nay, is it not more ſtrange that they ſhould *retain*, and file up his *Papers*, and yet reject his *perſon?* that his *Papers* ſhould be carefully kept, and looked on as *godly*, and yet that the Author ſhould be turned out of dore as a *Quaker?* I wonder not ſo much at *William Pinchin* that he ſhould produce ſuch men (for you ſhall ſee in the following diſcourſe that he hath prepared and produced much worſe) as at thoſe *Miniſters* who ever countenanced the perſon of the one, and made uſe of the Papers of the other. It was an handſom argument which a woman uſed to the *Duke of Clarence*, thereby to withdraw him from the *Earl of Warwick* with whom he *ſided*, to his own Brother *King Edward* 4. againſt whom he *took part*. *That the especial aim of that part wherein* Clarence *was at preſent engaged, was utterly to extinguiſh and ruin the houſe of* York, *whereof* Clarence *was an eminent perſon.* And I ſay that the conſideration

Phil. Com. Speed Hiſt.

of the designs of such sort of men, might have told the *Commissioners*, *the Ministers* at least, that as to this particular their case was as mine; and that had they opportunity to their will, they would do as much by them as they have done by me.

Sect. 6. But to come to the *Depositions*; The first in order as they lie in the copy received from their *Clark*, was the Deposition of *John Travers*: who saith,

> *That about four* (1.) *years since he having by* (2.) *order taken up some Malignants horses at* Box, (3.) *severall addresses were made to him by Mr.* Bushnel, (4.) *Major* Hunt, *and* (5.) *others who came all together from Mr.* Bushnells *house, having there drank very hard, being high in Beer, as this Deponent conceived.*

Sect. 7. Touching which *Deposition* I shall observe to thee;

1. That the time when as *John Travers* came to *Box*, was in *August*, 1648. which is much more then *four years before* June, 1656. *Another Circumstance for Mr.* Blisset.

2. What other order he had I know not, but I am sure that he then *acted* by *vertue of a forged Warrant* written as from Mr. *Edward Stokes*, *his name* likewise being *subscribed* unto it; but *disavowed* by that *Gentleman*, as neither

written

written by him, or by his *consent*; and conceived to be contrived by *Thomas Webb*, *John Travers* his Brother in law. That *Webb* who is so notorious for infamie with Mr. *Henry Whites* late wife; this *Webb* being at that time in the company, and a very busie man among them. By which you may gues *John Travers* to have been a very unfitting man to be looked on as a *credible witnes*, when as I could then, and can yet prove him guilty of such *Crimes* which our *Law* punisheth with *Pillorie*, *loss of Ears*, *slitting of nostrils*, and *searing with an hot Iron*, and it may be rationally presumed, that he who will for an advantage make one man say what he never thought of, will likewise for a like advantage make another man do, what he never did. 5. *Eliz.* 14.

And 3. whereas he adds that there were *addresses* made by me to him, I must tell thee that this is like the rest. *I make addresses to John Travers?* I had known the fellow above *thirty years* before; yet cannot remember that he was ever so high, or my self so low, as that I should either need or fear him. And sayes he, that I made *Addresses* unto him? And these *several addresses*; whereas I am sure that I could have made him confes, that I was then never but once where he was; and then my busines was to *Colonel Eyre*, and not to *John Travers*. And next he addes that *Major Hunt* and others came from my house. Here we have *dead men*, and *&c.* my companions

again; for although Mr. *Hunt* were then living, yet he was not at the time of my appearing before the *Commissioners*, in a capacity to vindicate either himself or me. And *whereas he sayes that they had there drank very hard*, it must be replyed that it was more then *John Travers* knew whether they drank so much as a drop there, he saw it not, for he was not in the house, and therefore what he swears is either upon conjecture or hearsay. This is the third time that they have received such *Testimonies* against me.

Sect. 8. I shall give thee an account of the story as it was; A party of Souldiers (whereof *John Travers* was one) having taken up Horses in the Parish, amongst others light upon a Horse or two of one Mr. *Colliers*, a Gentleman then living in *Dorsetshire*, and a *Brother* to Mris. *Hunt*, whom he then came to visit; they being thus distressed repair to *Colonel William Eyre* for his assistance, which he promises, in order whereunto he repairs to *Box*, whither likewise repair Mr. *Hunt*, Mr. *Collier*, Mris. *Hunt*, and *two more of her Sisters*; who conceiving *Colonel Eyre* to be at my house, come thither, but not finding him there (after a very short stay) they make to another place where they understood he was, and I along with them. And I assure thee, that their hast was such, and their stay with me so short, that I cannot say that they ever sate down or drank so

ſo much as a glaſs of Beer. And thus much would two *Souldiers* at that time *quartered* with me in the houſe (who were more likely to *know*, and to *ſpeak* the truth then *John Travers*) have *depoſed*, if I could have had ſo much juſtice that they might be heard. Indeed *John Travers* was ſo far in the right, that one of the *Gentlemen* was very high, which was this Mr. *Collier*, but it was in *anger*, and not in *Beer*; and ſo I believe *John Travers* would have found him, if Mr. *Collier* had had him in a convenient place. I have told thee that we all came along together from my houſe to *Colonel Eyre*, where *John Travers* likewiſe was, and many more beſide, where we made ſome ſtay, and had much diſcourſe about thoſe Horſes, and other matters. And it is ſtrange that none ſhould obſerve this diſtemperature in all that time, but only *John Travers* who never ſaw us drink. But doubtleſs *John Travers* expected ſome monies for his pains, and therefore *right* or *wrong*, *true* or *falſe*, he would *ſwear* ſomethinng to the *purpoſe* that he might ſeem to have *deſerved* his *wages*. I hear that afterward he wiſhed that he had never medled in it, (ſo did *Judas* too) for that he had thereby gained the *diſreſpect* of ſome *Gentlemen*; nor can I wonder if that all men ſhould *abandon* and *abhor* his ſociety that ſticks not at *forgery* and *perjury*. But ſince he is dead, I ſhall ſay no more of him but only this, (and this *interro-*

rem aliorum,) That notwithstanding he had been of a long time a *Contribution-gatherer*, a *plunderer*, an *informer*, a *kind of Agent* and *Sequestrator*, yet it is said that he dyed very *poor*: and notwithstanding he had been *many* times absent from *Slaughtenford*, and for a *long* time together, yet *divine Providence* so orders it, that he should *die a beggar* in that place where his *infamies* were *known* and *practised*; touching the manner of his death I say nothing.

Sect. 9. Next comes *Jone Pinchin* widow, and says *that about two years and a half since*, Jane Hendy *told her that Mr.* Bushnel *had attempted to lie with her: and withall said, that she did think that most of your Parsons were ill-shly given.* And saith, *That about two year since Mr.* Bushnel *baptized Mr:* Spekes *child by the Book of Common Prayer, and signed it with the sign of the Cross.*

Sect. 10. You may remember that in the *Transactions* of the first day at *Lavington*, I told you that *Jane Hendie* was summon'd in as a Witness for the *Common-wealth*: but I made no mention of her information then, conceiving that it might be better deferr'd till another time. She was likewise at *Marlburgh*, *May* 8. and was sworn there likewise, her Deposition being taken in these words;

That

That she never heard of any lascivious talk from Mr. Bushnell, *nor did he ever attempt to lie with her, nor doth she remember that she ever spake of any such thing to* Jone Pinchin *widow, or to any other person.*

This her *Deposition*, together with her age and poor withered countenance, had in all likelihood *satisfied* the *Commissioners* as to that particular; but now *William Pinchin* at *Lavington* boldly interposes and tels the *Commissioners* that *his mother* this *Jone Pinchin* had told him that this *Jane Hendy* had said so much to her: on which Master *Chambers* adds that if *Goodwife Pinchin had said so, he was bound to believe her.* And againe at *Marlburgh*, *May* 8. when there were Papers delivered in by *William Pinchin* written by himself, wherein it was affirmed under her mark that *Jane Hendy* should say so, the Doctor adds again, That *If Goodwife* Pinchin *said so, he was in conscience bound to believe her.* Born 1588.

Now by the *Doctors* leave I conceive these words of his, *I am bound*, and *I am bound in conscience to believe her*, were not spoken by him either with *discretion* or *charity*. *Sect.* 11.

1. Not with so much *advisedness* or *discretion*; for it is well known that *William Pinchin* had that power over his *Mother* that she dared not

not but to say, and to do as her Son would have her; I believe so well known that the *Doctor* himself could not be altogether ignorant of it; and what an incouragement did these words of the *Doctor* give *William Pinchin* to teach his *Mother* to say or to swear *any thing*, having this assurance given her before-hand, That *what ever she said must be believed, and go for currant?* if she had not said so, yet he having such a *hint* given him and such a *power* with his *Mother*, might easily order it that against her appearing before them she should *attest* it with *confidence*. When I consider the
Mat. 14. story of *Herod* and the *Baptist*, I am fully perswaded that *Herods* unadvised promise, gave occasion to his *Wives* and *Brothers* daughter to ask *John Baptists head*. And (that notwithstanding they hated him to death) they would not have made such a request, unless they had been imboldened thereunto by *Herods* pro-
V. mise; But now when such words shall fall from his mouth, *Whatsoever thou shalt ask of me I will give*, and this promise confirmed with an *Oath*; This is enough to make them *flie high*, and to bethink themselves touching some great demand, proportionable to his *vast con-*
Mar. 6. 23. *cession*, and their *vaster malice*. One of the *Evangelists* reports it, that having *such a promise, she consulted with her mother what she should ask*, and there is no doubt of it, but that the *consideration of such a promise* moved her *Mother* so to instruct her: and why might not these

these words from the Doctor, *I am bound, and I am bound in conscience to believe her*, hearten up the *Son* to *instruct* his *Mother* what to *swear*, as well as those other words *heartned* up the *Mother* to *instruct* her *Daughter* what to *ask*?

But yet in case that *Goodwife Pinchin* had said so, yet what sufficient Grounds had the *Doctor* for so much confidence, *I am bound, I am bound in Conscience*? I shall allow it that the Doctor hath been a long time acquainted with her, that she may have entertained *him* and *his* often, and her carriage may have been such as to gain his good opinion of her; but yet all this will not amount to be a sufficient ground for so much confidence, that she should be so *knowing* as that she could not erre *from the truth*, or so *cordial and intire* that she would not *report* a *falshood*, for all Mr. *Chambers* knew she might be another woman then he took her for. And why might not the Doctor be mistaken in her as well as he hath been in many others? (*women I mean*, for there his acquaintance did especially lie, and these many of them such who had the hand over their *Husbands*) who have followed him as far, and as oft as *Jone Pinchin*, and yet are now faln off both from his Doctrine and acquaintance? Nay, why might not the Doctor be mistaken in her, as well as he hath been in his friend and *Chaplain Blake* late of *Warminster*: no man can *Sect.* 12.

can know what is in anothers heart. Nay, why may not the Doctor be miſtaken in *her* as well as many *hundreds* have been miſtaken in the Doctor? Alas what juſt grounds of confidence have we that we cannot be miſtaken in others, when as we are ſo often deceived in our own ſelves? When as the *Prophet* ſayes that *the heart is deceitful above all things, deſperately wicked, who can know it?* Doubtleſs he ſpeaks of the deceitfulneſs and ſmall knowledg which *every man* hath of his *own heart*, as well as of the hearts of *other men*.

Si proprium non cognoſcamus, quanto magis ignotum erit alterius? Cartwr. in Prov. 27. 19. Jer. 17. 9, 10.

Sect. 13. But yet (for *all the Doctors* great confidence) others, who have had more and better means to be acquainted with *Jone Pinchin* in ſome particulars then I believe ever the *Doctor had*, have not met with ſo much upright dealing from this *Jone Pinchin* which deſerves ſo great an *Encomium*: I have heard of ſuch that have diſcovered her to be very nimble with her *Toldiſh*, more nimble then became an *honeſt woman*: I have heard too from others who have been *ſet by their Parents* (it ſeems they had cauſe to doubt her) to watch her that ſhe might not *miſ-remember* her ſelf, and take *toll twice*; it was her own Son *William* (as I have heard) that ſaid, *That ſhe had driven away moſt of the cuſtom from the Mill*, and certainly this could not be by any of her *virtues*. I love not to rake in *dunghils*, yet this I can ſay of my own knowledg, that ſhe hath borrowed of me *ſeveral*

and

and *considerable* sums which she hath neither *paid* me, nor will she confess that she ever *borrowed* them; and that she hath in *money* and *accounts* received several *sums* from me, which she will not acknowledge that she ever *received*. I lent her and her husband money out of my purse, when her *Son* had *beaten* them out of *door*, they being utterly destitute, nor knew they where to go to relieve themselves, which is yet unpaid, nor can I *gain* any thing from them but *base words* and *deeds in lieu of it*. The Doctor may do well to advise them to make payment to me, (it is a piece of curtesie which he hath done for his friends in some other place as I have heard) or else let him abate of his good opinion of them. But if he will not credit me, let him ask his friend Mr. *Stern* what just and upright dealing *he found* with them, when he *sojourned* with them there? and what a reckoning they brought him in (as he hath reported it) for *Bread* and *Cheese*. 'Tis true indeed, that is believed that Mr. *Stern* had better provision there, then *Bread* and *Cheese*, and therefore was it false in him to report it so; but yet it is believed again that he either paid for *that which he never had*, or paid to a *far greater value* then the provision came to, and that therefore the Doctors good friend must be guilty of *cousening* and *cheating*. We know that in the *Decalogue* that Command, *Thou shalt not bear false witness*, is in order immediately after that *Thou shalt*

7 *l.* Twenty Nobles.

ſhalt not ſteal; it may be that the *Prohibitions* are therefore ſo near, becauſe uſually the *ſins* are ſo. He that hath *ſtoln* will not ſtick at a *lie*, nor is it any great wonder that ſuch who have been *light* of their *hands*, ſhould be *falſe* of their *tongues*.

Sect. 14. And now I ſhall add that theſe words, *I am bound, I am bound in conſcience to believe her*, were not ſpoken by the Doctor, with *charity* towards *Jane Hendy*, for the poor old woman had been *twice* before them before this time, and upon her *Oath* (being never tampered with or prepared, as was *William Pinchins* uſe, no nor ſo much as ſpoken with by me) depoſeth,

> *That ſhe never heard any laſcivious talk from* Mr. Buſhnel; *nor did he ever attempt to lie with her; nor doth ſhe remember that ever ſhe ſpake of any ſuch thing to* Jone Pinchin *widow, or to any other perſon.*

And now for Dr. *Chambers* (*a man of ſo much reverence and learning*) to ſay (when it had been good manners in him to hold his peace) that if *Goodwife* Pinchin *had ſaid ſo he was in conſcience bound to believe her*, was (upon the matter) to ſay to this *Jane Hendies* face, that ſhe had twice *forſworne* her ſelf; I ſaid before, that the Doctor could not know ſo much of the *widow Pinchin*, but he might be miſtaken in her

her. I now add further, that for any thing he knew, this *Jane Hendy* might deserve as *good an opinion* of her *fidelity* as he had of this *Jone Pinchin*; and is it not then a most *uncharitable* thing for such an one as the Doctor to pronounce the one as *infallible*, the other as *perjured*, upon such uncertain *grounds? I am bound in conscience.* Beside the *incouragement* which this gave to *William Pinchin*, of which I have spoken already, what *consternation* and *amazement* must this needs bring upon all my witnesses? When as a word from *William Pinchin*, (who will say or swear any thing to do a mischief) as from his *Mother* (who must swear and say as he would have her) shall in this *Doctors* judgement render them under that notion as to be looked upon as persons *perjured.*

I report it with much *sadness of spirit* that these *contradictory Testimonies* of *Jane Hendy* and *Jone Pinchin* (whereof one of necessity must be false) are both *taken upon Oath*; one or other of them must needs be *forsworne*; and with me (and I believe that most that know us are of my minde) it is soon decided where the *perjury* lies: for I *protest* it in the presence of our *great God*, that there never was any such *attempt made* by me, no nor so much *as thought of*; and therefore I cannot possibly be so *uncharitable* as to think that the *poor woman* upon *no grounds*, and for *no purpose*, should *belie* her *Sect.* 15.

self

ſelf or *ſlander* me. And now I ſhall add further, that I believe that this and many other falſe Oaths had never been taken, had not the Doctor by thoſe words, I *am bound in conſcience*, hinted unto them a kind of *faculty*, or *diſpenſation* of ſwearing, and that now they might be bold. And one thing farther, This *Oath* being falſe, as I am confident it was, and as it is very probable this *Oath* being *cauſed* by ſuch an *invitation*, *I am bound in conſcience*; If an *incourager* or an *abettor*, or a *perſwader* be an *acceſſary*, I cannot acquit ſomebody (the Doctor may gueſs whom I mean) from being *guilty* of *this*, and *many* following *perjuries*. I remember that *Ulyſſes* layes a claim to all the *Heroick* acts of *Achilles*, becauſe that it was through his procurement that he went to the wars of *Troy*.

Metam. 13. *Ergo opera illius mea ſunt*——

And why may not *theſe men* be intituled to all the *infamous* actions which follow, ſince it was from *them* eſpecially that they had their *riſe* and *incouragement*?

Sect. 16. I muſt not forget one thing more: When the *widow Pinchin* had given in this *Teſtimony*, I deſired Mr. *Bliſſet* to ask her *whether ſhe believed it?* To which ſhe anſwered, *that goodwife* Hendy *did ſay ſo*. But this not ſatisfying Mr. *Bliſſet* asks her again, *But do you believe it to be true?* To which

which she answers again, *that it was true that* Goodwife Hendy *said so*: but this not satisfying yet, Mr. *Bliſſet* asks her the third time, *But do you conceive Mr.* Buſhnell *to be any ſuch man?* To which she answers, *that she could not judge.* Now I muſt tell the Reader that not long before this, she having some discourse with several persons, ever acquited me, saying that *she believed that I was wronged, or to that purpose*: but now she changes her note, and sayes, *she cannot judge.* Doubtless her *own son William*, or *the Doctor* (for I have heard that he was at her house betwixt *April* 28. & *June* 4.) had instructed her, and taught her to fall short: and why might not he make the whole, as well as alter a part of it? It was observed that while the *Mother* was on her *Examination*, the *son* was in some *agony* and *perplexitie*, which he expreſt by *rubbing*, and *wresting of his face and head*, fearing belike that his *Mother* should *miſs her trip*, or *forget*, or *miſ-report* those instructions which he had given her.

But now some may say, it is very unlikely, Sect. 17.
if not impoſſible, that all this rumor should be raised, that all this stir should be made about or upon nothing, upon no grounds at all. And indeed I am of the same minde, I made it my buſineſs therefore to enquire of *Jane Hendie*, since this buſineſs was over, to recollect her self, and to call to mind what

discourse or communication she had had with *Jone Pinchin* which might be *wrested* to such a *construction*. Whereupon she told me, that during the time that she was my servant, I entertained a *Minister* in my house (he called *himself Page*) who pretended that he *was beaten out of Ireland*, affirming that he had *there escaped very great dangers* and *sustained very great losses*: Insomuch that he was now very *low*, and both *needed* and *desired* the charitable relief of others. In order whereunto he desired that he might *preach* in my *Church*, to which I condescended, which *Exercise* and *Collection* being ended, in regard that he made a great moan, I took him with me into my *house*, entertained him and lodged him all night: and (had it not been for his great importunity to be gone early the next morning) it is like I might have entertained him longer; but it appears since that he therefore made such haste to be gone, because he had already (lying in a chamber by himself, where there was a *Trunk* and *some Boxes open*) possest himself of his *errand*; for he had *stoln* several pieces of *Clothes*, *Stockins*, *and other garments both of mine and others*, which he took away along with him. We mist not these *Clothes* till some dayes after; nor did my *servants* (for I was the last that heard of it) *discover* unto me any *suspicion* that they had of him until *one* had told them he had lately seen this *Page* about *five miles* from *Box*, *lying sleeping* on the

the ground, neer unto an *hedge*, by which there ran a *little Brook*; and that two (*habited like women*) were in the mean time washing and hanging out to dry, *several parcels of clothes*; adding farther to my servants, that had they been there *they might have chanc't to have met with that which they had lost.* This story *Jane Hendie* tells to *Jone Pinchin*, and was in some *passion* about it: for it seems that she had suffered in that loss; she speaks her minde likewise very freely touching *Page* and his *Landresses*; and to some who made themselves unwilling to believe that *men* of his *profession* should be of such a *conversation*, she adds to this purpose, that *your Parsons* (*naming me no more then she named Mr.* Byfield *or the Doctor*) *might be fleshly given as well as other men.* This is the sum of the story, as she hath reported unto me; and as she sayes this was all she spake to *Jone Pinchin*, neither did she (as it is in her Deposition) mention my name at all. And see now what a story *the son, and the Mother* together *with the Doctors incouragement* have made of it. I believe that the Doctor knows already that there have been such heretofore, who were much given to mistake, and mis-remember, and mis-report other mens words, and all for the worse, to the prejudice of him that spoke them; and I believe that the Doctor knows what sort of men they have been. To all which let me add only this, *And*

Rom. 2. 3. *thinkeſt thou this that thou ſhalt eſcape that doeſt the ſame?*

Sect. 18. There is another branch in *Jone Pinchin* Depoſition, which I have not yet ſpoken to which is this;

That about two years ſince Mr. Buſhnell *baptized Mr.* Spekes *child by the Book of Common Prayer, and ſigned it with the ſign of the Croſs, her ſon* Williams *wife then depoſing that ſhe was then alſo preſent at the Baptizing of Mr.* Spekes *child, and ſwore the ſame.*

Sect. 19. And here I ſhall obſerve a *wonder* unto thee; *That with in ſix weeks* a child ſhould grow *a year and three quarters old*; for this is one of

April 28. 1658. the children of which *Obadiah Cheltenham* ſpake at *Levington*, and then and there affirmed upon *Oath*, that I *had ſigned it with the ſign of the Croſs within a qnarter of an year, it was to be proved*; 'tis likely he meant that *Williams Pinchins mother*, and *his wife* ſhould prove it. *Here we have another circumſtance for Mr.* Bliſſe. And here we have a ſtory (ſuch an one as it is) of a thing done *about* two years ſince. I ſhall deſire thee to know that the *child* of whom they ſpeak was *Baptized*, *October* 28. 1653. which was more then *two year* and a *half* before theſe *depoſitions* were taken, and although that word *about* may make it paſſable in ſome tolerable ſenſe, yet it is in my thought

that

that *William Pinchin* had ſome deſign in it that his *mother* and his *wife* ſhould ſwear ſo *indefinitely*: for in this particular the ſpace of *ſix* or *ſeven moneths*, nay of *but a week* would have very much altered the caſe. The *Ordinance* by which theſe *Commiſſioners* ſate *bares date, Aug.* 29. 1654. and although it did look *backward* beyond the *date* of it, and *queſtioned* ſuch things which were done before the *law was made*, yet it doth not *look* ſo *far back* as to *Octob.* 28. 1653. Then (nay on the *laſt of Decemb.* 1653.) that might have been done with ſafety, which if one had done on the day following, he might have been queſtioned for; it might be therefore a deſign in *William Pinchin* to put it into ſuch *indefinite terms* about *two years*, it might be ſomewhat *within*, and *under*, as *well as above*; and ſuch an interpretation as beſt pleaſed the *Commiſſioners*, (and that if Mr. *Byfield* and the *Doctor* could have procured it, ſhould have been ſuch as would have done me the moſt *miſchief*) ſhould have been put upon it: But of this Depoſition I ſhall ſay no more, becauſe be it *true*, or be it *falſe*, as to the matter of *fact*, yet as to the matter of *charge* it ſignified nothing.

The next we have is the Depoſition of *William Cottle*, who depoſeth, *Sect.* 20.

That when Thriſt was kild, he did conceive

him to be overtaken in Beer, for that he could not ſcarce pull the rope of the Bell without ſtepping into the fold; but where he had it, this deponent knows not. And ſaith alſo,

That about two year ſince Mr. Buſhnell *coming through* Pickwick *lane from* Corſham *bended to and fro upon his Horſe: and this deponent the morrow asking* Brewer *the Inkeeper what he had done to Mr.* Buſhnell, *ſaid, he was well enough when he went thence, having ſpent only ten pence, but ſaid he did uſe to ſuddle a Cup there now and then.*

Sect. 21. I conceive that the ſum of this Depoſition may be reduced to theſe heads.

1. Touching *John Thriſt.*
2. *Touching my ſelf.*

As touching *John Thriſts* ringing, and in what *Condition* he was when he rang, I ſhall refer thee to the depoſition of another witneſs ſummon'd in to appear at the ſame time and place by *William Pinchin*; which was this *William Cottles* own brother and taken in theſe words.

Richard Cottle *of* Box *depoſeth that* Thriſt *afore ſaid, ringing two or three puls at the Bell when he was afterward killed; this deponent did not conceive he was in drink, and having but the laſt week asked of him that gave him the rope, and took it of him again, (he being alſo of the ſaid opinion) this Deponent doth the rather believe it.*

Here you ſee we have *two* for *one*, and thoſe this *William Cottles* brother, and *Will. Love* his Bro-

Brother in law: who *gave him the rope*, and took *it of him again*; and therefore in likelihood might know more of *Iohn Thrifts* condition at that time then any man.

But now (had theſe *Commiſſioners* been pleaſed to ſuffer it) I could have made it appear, that at ſuch time as *John Thrift* rang, this *William Cottle* was not *below* in the *Church* or *Belfree*, but *above* in the *Tower* tolling of the great Bell: from *whence* it was as impoſſible for him to ſee what was then done *below* in the *Church*, as it was for *William Pinchin* to ſee what was done at *Box* when he was about five miles off at *Broughton*. *Sect.* 22.

And then as touching the ſecond Branch of his Depoſition. *Sect.* 23.

That as I rode homeward from Corſham, *I bended to and fro upon my horſe.*

Certainly this will ſignifie nothing with *ſober men* but only a *diſtemperature* in the informer. The ſeveral *poſtures* and *motions* of the body, the *variety* of *gate* and *garb*, the *carriage* of the hands or feet of men whether on *horſeback* or on *foot*, as they are little *thought* of by him that *uſeth them*, ſo I think as little *regarded* by any *rational* man that ſhall *behold them*: We look upon theſe, and ſuch as theſe, as done without any *mature deliberation*: and therefore barely as ſuch, neither *matter of commendation* or *reproof*: nor are they uſually called *humane actions*, although he be *a man* that doth them.

Sect. 24. And whereas he cites *Brewer* an *Inholder* of *Corsham* as his *voucher*, I shall acquaint thee with the Information upon Oath, which this *Thomas Brewer* gave before the *Commissioners*, and shall after leave it to the Reader to judge, how this *William Cottle* hath represented both *him and me*. I must tell thee that this *Deposition* of *Thomas Brewer* was not taken at this time at *Caln*, but afterward at *Marlburrough*. *July* 1. yet because it relates so much to *William Cottles Deposition*, I shall *anticipate* the day, and insert it here; It is in these words;

Thomas Brewer *of* Corsham *Inholder, being sworn, saith, That he did never tell* William Cottle *or* Henry Parsons *afore sworn, that Mr.* Bushnell *did use to come to his house to suddle a cup as they have deposed; nor was he distemper'd at the time mentioned in their Depositions. And sayes, that he have known him these ten years, and never saw him drink to excess, nor did he ever go from his house distemper'd with Beer as this deponent knows; yet sayes, that he have often been at this deponents house in* Corsham, *but seldom save in business for the children, to whom he is a Guardian, or to the Lecture, or the like, and sayes that he have been there three or four hours at a time in the Deponents said house with his Tenants, &c. and have not drank more then a jug of Beer, or a Pint of Wine.*

All

All that I shall have to say at present is to the former part of the *deposition*. *That he never told* William Cottle *that Mr.* Bushnel *did use to come to his house to fuddle a cup.* Here we have another *sad story*, *Contradictory oath's* taken again. Of which (as I have said) of necessity one must be false. I am satisfied as to my self where the perjury lies; and it may be that the *reader* will be of my judgment before I come to the end of the story. It was at this time that we exhibited Articles of exception against this *William Cottle* touching his credit and former conversation, every of which would have been proved upon oath. As Sect. 25.

1. *That this* William Cottle *was a drunkard, and that on the Lords day; and even in the time of divine service he had usually seduced others to his house to drink.* As

2. *That this* William Cottle *was a thief, who together with* John Twyford *the hangman cut, carryed and stole Poles out of* Hungerford *wood, supposing them to have been the Ministers.* As

3. *That* William Cottle *was a scandalous and infamous person, who having been convicted for selling Ale without License, and other misdemeanors, and yet taking no warning, was by the Justices of the Peace sent to the house of Correction; from whence he made an escape, so that a Justice of Peace made him give Bond to sell Ale no more, because he could not otherwise restrain him.* As

4. *That* William Cottle *was a cousening and cheating*

cheating fellow: for, (putting himself into the Office of a Tything-man in the room of another man) he collected monies for the buying of Drums and Colours, which he keeps (or the greater part of it) in his hands, or else otherwise imployes it: and suffers the Cattle of one James Butler *(for whom he was Deputy) to be taken away by Souldiers until full satisfaction were made.* Insomuch

5. *That* William Cottle *was looked upon as one that regarded neither his word nor his Oath, so that the steward of the Leet discovering him, would not admit him (although he greatly thirsted after it) to serve in that place any more:* conceiving him belike to be a *person* so *unworthy* and so *unfit* to be *trusted*, as that he was not held meet for so mean an office as a *Tything-man.* As

6. *That* William Cottle *was a slanderer of the Ministers, charging them in the general with greedines, and that he would trust none of them all:* and *that for instance he mentioned Mr.* Chambers *who had left* Claverton, *and was gone to* Pewsie.

Sect. 26. I say that all these exceptions were then exhibited; and would have been every one proved upon Oath; but my *Counsel* for that time waving all the rest, pitcht upon the last, *viz.*

That William Cottle *should say that your Parsons were greedy, and that he would trust none of them all, no not Mr.* Chambers, *who*

who had left Claverton *and was gone to* Pewſie.

This *Article* was indeed of it ſelf the moſt *inconſiderable*, although perchance it made the *loudeſt* noiſe with them, becauſe it *reflected* ſomewhat upon their Doctor. Now *William Cottle* being charged with theſe words, confidently *denies* that ever he ſpake them, being ſtill upon his *Oath*; affirming, *That no honeſt man would juſtifie that he had ſaid ſo*: and *drawing his finger athwart his throat, ſeemed to intimate that he would give any man leave to cut his throat if it were juſtified.*

Soon after which comes in *William Rawlins* of Box, againſt whom *William Cottle* could take no exceptions, and being ſworn, ſaith;

That on Whitſunday *laſt ſoon after the morning Sermon, as they were in the Church-yard* (he named the particular place in the *Church-yard*, as likewiſe others who heard it as well as himſelf) *William Cottle* ſpake theſe words;

That your Parſons were greedy, that he would truſt none of them all, no not Mr. Chambers, *for he had left* Claverton *and was gone to* Pewſie.

Which words when *William Cottle* had heard, without more ado he *acknowledged* that he had *ſpoken*

ſpoken, adding further, *Why what if I did ſay ſo?* The truth is, that the thing being conſidered *barely* in, or by it ſelf, it mattered not if he had ſaid ſo; for it was *true* as he ſaid; Mr. *Chambers had left Claverton*, (nor was this the firſt time that he had left it) *and was gone to Pewſie*, and this to his great advantage too, for the report goes that he is *three hundred pounds a year* gainer by this remove. But now *William Cottle* having been ſworn to *ſpeak* the *truth*, the *whole truth*, and *nothing but the truth*, (and this *Oath* alwayes binding him whiles he was before theſe *Commiſſioners* ſpeaking upon his *croſs examination* to *my buſineſs*) and having upon this *Oath denyed* any ſuch words to be ſpoken by him, and yet within a few minutes after, as our *Proverb* goes even *in the ſame breath*, *upon the ſame Oath to confeſs that he had ſpoken them*——! What greater or further *Teſtimony* could theſe *Commiſſioners* have of this mans *falſehood?* or how could they look upon him as a *credible* witneſs againſt me, ſince he ſticks not to *forſwear* himſelf in their preſence? *Another circumſtance for Mr.* Bliſſet.

Sect. 27. It muſt not be forgotten, that Mr. *Byfield* kept much adoe about this Depoſition of *William Rawlins*; it is like enough that he was unwilling that it ſhould be taken; ſure I am that there was a *kinde* of an *heat* ſtricken betwixt my *Counſell* and *him* about it; it may be that it was not only *zeal* to his friend the Doctor

Doctor which made him ſo *earneſt*; but alſo reſpect unto *himſelf*, he rightly conſidering that in this *ſaying*, he himſelf was *reproached* likewiſe; for that the Doctors changes might give occaſion to men to enquire what a ſtedfaſt and ſetled man Mr. *Byfield* had been in his time: and how many *removes* he had made from that time he did officiate at *Enford*, till this time that he was now in the *Parſonage* at *Collingborn*. But yet my *Counſel* prevailed, and (although with ſome adoe) entred it was and *ſubſcribed* by *William Rawlins* who had depoſed it. And yet (*Reader* judge of their equall dealing with me) we have not one word of this in that *copy* of the *Depoſitions* which we received from their *Clerk*, and according to which we were to frame our anſwer. I have often told thee that they had an *Index expurgatorius*, yet formerly he came only with his *knife*, or his *pruning hook*, and took away only *ſome boughs* or *Limbs* of a Depoſition, but here he comes with his *Axes*, and takes away both *root* and *branch*.

It were not amiſs to tell thee that *John Travers*, ſitting by during this debate, and hearing and noting all the paſſages, obſerved it (and ſo did others beſide) and (as I have heard) hath reported it elſewhere with ſome *complacency*, that Mr. *Chambers* did *hang down his head the while*; Now we know that *hanging down* Sect. 28.

of

of the *head doth* uſually ſignifie that there is *ſhame* and *ſorrow* in the Heart.

——— *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*
Et dici potuiſſe & non potuiſſe refelli.

And whereas *ſhame* doth uſually produce either an *amendment* in the perſon ſo expoſed: or elſe *indignation*, which the perſon ſo expoſed conceives againſt *him* whom he looks on as the cauſe of this Expoſal; I have ſome conjecture that this wrought after the latter and worſer way with Dr. *Chambers*; and that he did for this ſtore up a good turn for me againſt he had an opportunity. Of which the *Readers* ſhall have ſome account in due time and place.

Sect. 29. Next follows the Depoſition of *William Sanders*; but becauſe I ſhall have ſomething touching him, and of the Doctor in reference unto him, which is very remarkable in the Tranſactions of the next day, I ſhall therefore forbear him till then.

Sect. 30. Next follows the Depoſition of *Lawrence Cottle*, who depoſeth:

That about one year and a half ſince, he and ſome others that went to ſchool with Mr. Buſhnell *plaid at Cards in Mr.* Buſhnells *houſe.*

house, when Mr. Bushnell *took up one of the Boyes games, and plaid it out for him at Slam: after which some difference happening between the boyes about their game, he snatched up the Cards, and threw them into the fire and burnt them, and said he would have no more playing at Cards in his house.*

And as touching this Deposition, I would fain know where the *matter of charge lies?* is it in this, *That they played at Cards in my house?* I know nothing (all circumstances duly considered, and it was my care it should be so) that makes it either *unlawful* or *inexpedient*. The *time* was after Supper; the *company*, mine own scholars; the *stake* (for any thing I knew) Apples, or Nuts, whereat in an harmless manner for some short time they might *recreate* themselves. If it happened otherwise (as the Deposition here sayes that it did) the beginning of the differences put an end to the Game. As I remember Mr. *Byfield* disliked it that I had not burnt the Cards before, but delaid it till the *end of the Game*. To which I shall say only this, that had they been filling or smoaking with a *Tobacco pipe*, I should have looked upon it as a thing so disingenuous and misbeseeming Scholars, that I should have *snatcht* it away and *broken* it without any more adoe. *Sect.* 31.

Next

Sect. 31. Next follows the Depoſition of *John Gibbons* in theſe words;

John Gibbons *of* Box *being ſworn, ſaith, That about three quarters of a year paſt he plaid twice with Mr.* Buſhnell *at Tables in his own houſe, for good will only, and no moneys. But ſaith, that he was induced ſo to do at the requeſt of this Deponent.*

To which we have neer in place and ſubſtance, the Depoſition of *Peter Webb* in theſe words;

Peter Webb *before ſworn, ſaith, That ſometimes before two years paſt, he have plaid with with Mr.* Buſhnell *at Tables in his own houſe, but for no moneys.*

Sect. 32. Now I would willingly be ſatisfied touching the *matter of Charge* in theſe Depoſitions. For

1. Are theſe Games *illiciti in ſe?* unlawful in themſelves? or in their own nature? Then are they ſuch at *all times*, in *all places*, and to *all perſons*. Never man did, never man can uſe them, but in the very uſe of them he offends. But perchance they will ſay, that they are *Illiciti quia prohibiti*, and though indifferent in themſelves, yet in *being forbidden* they become *unlawful*. To this I ſhall ſubjoin, and if they be thus forbidden, it muſt be either by

y ſome *old Law*, or elſe by ſome *new*; believe that Mr. *Byfield* would not ſay, By any d Law, and if he had ſaid by the *New*; that is, e *Ordinance* by which they ſate, and accor-ing to which they were to act: I ſhall an-wer, that then theſe two Depoſitions *ſignifie* thing againſt me, for the ordinance in this rticular makes only ſuch *Miniſters to be deemed ilty of Scandal who ſhall be found frequent players Cards or Dice*; and certainly then no man ill ſay that I played *frequently* with theſe men, hen as they depoſe that I never played with em but *once apiece*. I am confident that Mr. *yfield* and the Doctor would not be termed equent *Preachers*, if they had *Preacht* no ftener then it is proved that I plaid at *Cards Tables*. There was beſide a concurrence of l circumſtances, which being duly obſerved know not the *Caſuiſt* ſo ſtrict which accounts em abſolutely unlawful. For

1. *We made it matter of recreation.*
2. *We uſed them ſparingly.* And
3. *Covetouſneſs* (which is uſually the poyſon all games, ſo far as to diſtemper and enrage e paſſions) *could not be poſſibly there, becauſe* s it is in their Depoſitions) *we plaid for no-ing.*

One thing more let me now add touching ohn *Gibbens*, and his Depoſition, of which he old me ſince I came to *London*, which was this, hat the *Clerk* Mr. *Bliſſets* ſon had written mewhat as his Depoſition which he never

ſpake; as that *we plaid at Tables on the Lords day*, to which he would have had *John Gibbens* to ſet his hand, which he refuſing, he takes the Depoſition as is aforeſaid; on which let me obſerve only this, that if *John Gibbens* had not read the Depoſition over, he ſhould have been made to teſtifie that which was moſt falſe, which poſſibly ſome who could not read what he had written have done. This pretious *Clerk* having that faculty, that the witneſſes ſhall ſay *no more, nor leſſe, nor any other thing* then he will have them. So it might be to my prejudice, *what they never ſpake ſhall be inſerted*; but if for my advantage, then *what they ſpake plain and diſtinctly ſhall be left out*. He told me likewiſe, that *Obadiah Cheltenham* beſtowed a kind of a rebuke upon him, telling him *that he ſwore but faintly, and that by his Depoſition he had done them more harm then good*.

Sect. 33. Next follows the Depoſition of *Thomas Hayward*, who depoſeth;

That about Pauls-tide *laſt was two year, Mr.* Buſhnel *did uſe ſome of the formes of Common Prayer at a Funeral.*

To which I ſay only this, that for any thing appears to the contrary, he might mean that I read 1 *Cor.* ch. 15.

Next

Next follows the Depoſition of *Nicholas Spencer*, who being before ſworn ſaith, Sect. 29.

That oft-times till within three quarters of a year paſt, there have been Stabbal playing upon the Sabbath in the Pariſh of Box, *and playing at fives upon the ſame day in the Church-yard; and that this Deponent have oft complained to Mr.* Buſhnel *thereof; who have replyed that it was the Officers and none of his buſineſs; but ſaith that the ſaid Mr.* Buſhnel *have often reproved and rebuked his Pariſhners for the ſame in his Sermons.*

And he might have *ſworn* that oft-times within *three quarters* of an year, the *widow Pinchins* and her Sons *fulling Mils*, had been ſet on work on the *Lords day*; and that on the ſame *day* their *ſervants* have uſually *hanged* out *their clothes* in the *rack*. That on the ſame day *Obad. Cheltenham* came uſually from *Marlborough* to his own *houſe*. That on the ſame day *William Cottle*, and *Nicholas Nowell*, have kept *tippling* in their houſes. That *Thomas Powel* have ſet it aſide for a day to make bargains in, becauſe he would not ſpare the time on the Week dayes. Nor have there (that I know of) been greater profaners of *that day*, then were thoſe very perſons that appeared againſt me. But what? Did *Nicholas Spencer* ſee *theſe men at Stabbal?* Why had not he complained Sect. 34.

of them upon Oath? he could have informed of his own knowledge, I only on hearsay as from him: and (whatsoever the practice of these *Commissioners* were) I knew that *our Justices* were so worthy, as that they would not look upon such an *Oath*, as a sufficient ground for a *conviction*. And whereas he said *that he complained to me of it*; was I a *Magistrate* to *punish*, or an *Officer* to *prosecute them?* If he had complained to me of *William Pinchins paricide*, of *Obadiah Cheltenhams* —— *Chastity*, of *Cottles profanations*, &c. I must have given him the same answer as I did then, *That it is the Officers business to prosecute them, and none of mine.* By *Nicholas Spensers* own confession I acted as became one in my place, *I often reproved and rebuked the Parishioners for the same in my Sermons.* To which I shall add one thing more; I did (which I conceive to be most properly the Ministers office in this business) *publish the several Acts and Ordinances for the Observation of that day:* that neither the Officers, nor any others might pretend ignorance of their duty in that case; but that the people might know what was forbidden them, and under what penalty it was forbidden them; and that the Officers might know what they were to expect in case they neglected their duty: I say that these *Acts* and *Ordinances* I *published oftner* then the *Law required.* Yea, I think, far more often then

Mr. *Byfield*

Mr. *Byfield*, or Dr. *Chambers*. But as touching the ſame *Nicholas Spenſer*, I ſhall for preſent only deſire thee to obſerve how he *mends* and *makes* ſome *progreſſe* in his Depoſitions, how (*William Pinchin*-like) he fetcheth *Trip*, in his *ſecond* Depoſition outgoing the *firſt*, and in this *third* overleaping all, as ſhall be certified unto thee by and by.

I ſhall now put an end to the *Tranſactions* of this day. Being cald in before them the next *morning* which was *June* 5. I perceived that the *Marlborough* men, together with Mr. *Byfield*, Dr. *Chambers*, and another *Miniſter* of *Marlborough*, I think they cald him Mr. *Hughes*, were very ſharp ſet: they had diſpatcht two *Miniſters* before; and the Doctor by his big countenance ſeemed not to have digeſted it that *Cottle* ſhould *upon his Oath before ſuch a company deny and yet acknowledge it, that he ſhould ſay that your Parſons were greedy, that he would truſt none of them all, no not* Mr. *Chambers*, *for he had left* Claverton, *and was gone to* Pewſie; and therefore I was not to expect any kindneſſes from *him*, becauſe he might look upon me as the *Author* of his *Expoſal*. And therefore I deſired that I might have ſome further time granted for the Examination of other Witneſſes; for I told them that the Witneſſes which were Sect. 35.

produced and incouraged againſt me, I could prove to be men neither of *honeſty*, nor of *credit*, or *truth*. Which if I made appear, then their Teſtimony (be it what it would) fell to the ground and became void of it ſelf; for their Ordinance allows of none but of *credible* Witneſſes; and the old rule is, *Recriminatio valet ad tollendum Teſtimonium*, that a recrimination is of force to take awa a Teſtimony. But to theſe words of mine, that I ſhould prove theſe Witneſſes to be *men of neither credit nor truth*, Mr. *Bliſſet* replies to this purpoſe, *That it were ſtrange if there ſhould be found ſuch men that were of no credit or truth, for that the Devill ſpake truth ſometime.* To which words for the preſent I ſhall ask of Mr. *Bliſſet*, firſt, What he thinks of thoſe words, *He (the Devil) abode not in the truth, becauſe there was no truth in him?* I ſhall ask him, ſecondly, Whether or no if the *Devil* ſhould *depoſe a truth*, his *Doctors* or *himſelf would look upon it as a ſufficient Teſtimony?* I ſhall give the Reader my preſent Judgement touching theſe particulars in the Tranſactions of the next day. Only let me obſerve thus much unto thee now, that it ſeemeth to me that *ordinary witneſſes*, be they *whatſoever*, come they from *whereſoever*, ſwear they *what* or *howſoever*, yet if ſerving Mr. *Bliſſets* turn, they ſhould have been welcom to him. Yet upon this my motion, *To have*

Joh. 8. 44.

further

further time granted me for the Examination of other Witneſſes; I was bade to withdraw, and being ſoon called in again, my requeſt was granted. But now whether it were becauſe my ſuite was equall, or whether or no it were becauſe Mr. *Byfield* and the Doctor had not there a full *Quorum* of fitting *Commiſſioners* (for although all their friends of *Marlborough* were there, yet I remember not that any of *Sarum* were) I cannot judge.

BRITISH

The Tranſactions *at my fifth time of appearing before them, at the* White-Hart *at* Marlborough, July 1. 2.

HAving (as I told thee but now) a *liberty granted* to me to bring in my exceptions both againſt the *perſons* and the *Evidence* given in againſt me at that time at *Caln*, I had notice by word of mouth from the *Commiſſioners Clerk*, Mr. *Bliſſets* ſon, that that I was to appeared before them at the *White-Hart* in *Marlborough*, *July* 1. next following. And thither I repair accordingly with *ſuch* along with me, whoſe *Teſtimonies* (had they been *equally* heard, or *duly* conſidered of) would (with *unintereſted* men, or ſuch who had not been afore-hand reſolved which way it ſhould go, right or wrong) doubtleſs have ſo far prevailed, that it would have appeared that the *Doctors*, Mr. *Byfields*, and Mr. *Bliſſets* witneſſes had been indeed ſuch as I had formerly repreſented them to be, *Sect.* 1.

be, *Men of neither truth nor credit.* Nor can theſe men have any juſt cauſe to diſtaſt me that I call them *their witneſſes*, when I have given my reaſons of it. I have told thee already, that I *believe that many a one which hath appeared before them, and have been ſworn againſt me, had never ſo done, had it not been for their invitation and countenance*; which as before, ſo at this time appeared moſt viſible: for (beſides others which I ſhall name by and by) at this time there appear for the Common-wealth *William Pinchin*, *Obadiah Cheltenham*, and *John Travers*, not as *witneſſes*, but as *Sollicitors* or *Promoters*: and in their *addreſſes* (neglecting the *Gentleman* to whom alone of right this buſineſs did belong) their applications were to Mr. *Chambers* and Mr. *Byfield*, *John Travers* and *William Pinchin*, at the upper end of the Table, ſtanding at the elbow of the *Doctor*, and *Obadiah Cheltenham* towards the lower end, waiting upon Mr. *Byfield*; and this I conceive to be reaſon enough wherefore I call them their witneſſes. There appear at this time beſide theſe *Nicholas Spenſer* lately mentioned, and *Nicholas Nowell*, and *Jone his wife*: nor could I have any liberty to produce any witneſſes for mine own vindication, till the depoſitions of the witneſſes for *the Common-wealth* were firſt taken.

Sect. 2. Of which (as I take it) the firſt was the Depoſition of *Nicholas Spenſer* in theſe words;

Nicholas

Nicholas Spenſer of Box *being ſworn, ſaith that he being at Church when* Thrift *was killed, obſerved that he was overtaken in Beer by his countenance and abſurd carriage.*

Touching which Depoſition I ſhall offer to thy conſideration theſe things: *Sect.* 3.

1. That this Depoſition as it is under their *Clerks* hand, is not *entered* as a *diſtinct* Depoſition by it ſelf, but it is *ſhuffled* up together with that Depoſition which he took at *Marlborough, May*, 8. of which I have ſpoken already. §. 18. 3. da.

2. Whereas the *Clerk* puts this in the *firſt* place, as if it were the *firſt* that ever *Nicholas Spenſer* took, yet that this was the *laſt*, and that his Depoſitions of *May* 8. and of *June* 4. of which I have ſpoken before, were both before this, to which I am now to ſpeak. Now who or what ſhould move the *Clerk* (in this and many other places beſide) to this ὕστερον πρότερον, to invert and confound the order wherein theſe Teſtimonies were delivered or taken (whether it were *deſign* thereby to confound my counſel and us; that we ſhould have a *confuſed* as well as an *unperfect* Paper to anſwer to; that ſo having but a little time to anſwer unto it, by *this inverſion* of order we might be the more perplex'd; or whether or no they therefore placed the Depoſitions of their moſt *Gigantick* ſwearers in the front,

as

Plut. in vit. Alex. as the *Indians* ſet their *Elephants* to *face* their Enemies, that the world might think that all the reſt were like the firſt: or whether it were from *neglect* or *overſight*) I cannot judge. Obſerve,

3. That this *Nicholas Spenſer* had (as I have ſaid) been *twice* before them before, that he had been *twice ſworn*, and *examined* upon all the *Articles*, and could not remember any ſuch thing. Now I have heard that it hath been deemed an undue courſe for a witneſs to be *twice examined* againſt a man. This being given as a reaſon, *Becauſe that this is to draw him on by degrees to ſwear home, and to mend in his ſecond Depoſition what he fell ſhort in the firſt.* Nor is it unlikely but that ſuch who have been *once* or *twice* called in upon *Examination* and cannot *remember* any thing, may if called in the *third* time have ſo much *aim given* them, that they may *remember* ſomewhat *amiſs*, but more of this by and by.

Sect. 3. But paſs we to the Depoſition it ſelf.

1. He ſwears that *he was at Church when* John Thrift *was killed.* Now there are many others that are confident that he *was not in the Church when* John Thrift *came in and rang*; but might come in afterward, when as it was reported that he was *ſlain.* But now,

2. Obſerve with me what a notable argument the man hath got, or what reaſons he hath to perſwade him to believe it; *He obſerved*

ſerved that he was overtaken in Beer by his countenance and abſurd carriage. I have ſeen this *Nicholas Spenſer* as *fantaſtique and ridiculous* in his carriage as I have ſeen any man: *turning himſelf half round upon his toe* or *his heel, caſting out his legs, throwing abroad his arms*; and for his countenance *I have ſeen him* (as our Proverb goes) *as red* as the *rouſt Cock*, and yet I believe at that time he hath been as far from *diſtemperature*, as he was at this time from *truth* or *charity*.

We have had often mention of the death of *John Thriſt*, as likewiſe in *what condition* he was in when he was ſlain. I ſhall here once for all give thee a brief of the ſtory as it was. This *John Thriſt* living in the *Pariſh* of *Box*, and being my *neer kinſman*, together with his *wife*, and ſome others of our *neighbouring kindred*, agreed among themſelves (as I have ſince heard) to meet all together at *Church* at *Box*, and afterward to *dine* with me: there was neither *feaſt* prepared, nor any invitation made by me, as many of them yet living did depoſe before theſe Commiſſioners. Soon after dinner (I retiring to my *Chamber*) this *John Thriſt* ſpeaks to ſome others to go along with him to the houſe of one *John Hedges* who was to be buryed that afternoon; with a purpoſe to attend the *Corps* to *Church*. But in the way thitherward, underſtanding that the company there expected were not as yet come together. *Sect.* 4. This was on *Sept.* 13. 1646.

ther, they *turn* into the *Church*, where there were ſome *ringing*; where this *John Thriſt* takes a rope from one that was ringing, and ſoon after delivers it to him again, as you have it in *Richard Cottles* Depoſition, to which I refer you. Now ſoon after this he eſpying the *Tower door open*, ariſes from the ſeat to which he had retired himſelf after his ringing, and beckning to one to follow him, *goes up the ſtairs*, as 'tis thought, to *ſee how they tol'd the great Bell in the Tower*, and being (in all likelihood) utterly unacquainted with the place, as he who followed him likewiſe was, going up a Ladder about 12 rounds, whether by *a blow from the trap door*, or from the *Bell*, or from the *wheel*, or by what other *ſad accident* it is not known, *he fell from the Ladder as it is thought upon a piece of Timber lying in a nether loft, and was taken up dead.* This as to the manner of his death. Now as touching the condition he was then in, (beſide the opinion of *William Love*, and the teſtimony of *Richard Cottle*) take the following Depoſitions.

Sect. 5. The firſt in theſe words,

May 8. at *Marlb.* John Jones *being ſworn, ſaith, That at the time mentioned, when* Thrift *was killed, this deponent dined with him at* Mr. Buſhnells, *when he came there by accident, and drank no more then might do him good: and went thence to the Church where he came by his death: but*

ſaith

ſaith that he was not diſtempered with Beer. And ſaith that the ſaid Mr. Buſhnell *then went forthwith from dinner to his ſtudy, as this Deponent conceived.*

Take another given at the ſame time [illegible] Sect. 6.
place, and taken in theſe words:

Richard Pinchin of Box, *being ſworn, ſaith, That he was then alſo at Mr.* Buſhnells *at dinner, and ſpeaks fully to the ſame purpoſe as doth* John Jones, *and ſayes that there was no drinking after dinner.*

Take a third given at the ſame time and Sect. 7.
place, and taken in theſe words;

Jane Hendy *being ſworn, ſaith, That at the time laſt mentioned, the ſaid gueſts came all to Mr.* Buſhnells *by accident without invitation, as Mr.* Buſhnell *told her, ſhe being his ſervant.*

Let us now take a ſhort view of theſe *con-* Sect. 8.
tradictory Depoſitions, and ſee in which of them there lieth the greater likelihood of the truth: which will be done, if we look on

1. The *quality of the perſons* who thus informed. And

2. If we conſider *whether of them had the more likely means to know the truth in this particular.*

In brief, whether of theſe were more likely

to

to know; and which of these were more likely to speak the truth. Touching *William Pinchin*, and *William Cottle*, and of their *creditableness*, you have heard something already; more you shall hear anon; and as touching *Nicholas Spenser*, I have told thee but now that he had been *twice sworn* before, and could remember no such thing, as likewise what may be thought of such who have been at several times admitted to swear against the same person. I have told thee likewise what *incouragement* the witnesses had to swear any thing against me, and such *most made* of that would *swear most desperately*. So that *Nicholas Spenser* having been *twice* before them before, and now called in the *third* time, might by this *understand* their minds, and *prepare* accordingly, as I have heard of some *Juries*, who having been *often* turned back, at last find as the *Judge would have it*; besides, *William Pinchins* and *Nicholas Spensers* intimacy grew daily more and more: 'tis not unlikely but that he might be then *designed Sequestrator* in case that I were *ejected*, and that he might know as much. I am sure that afterward it so fell out, and this place of *Sequestrator* he executes with great *port* and *complacency*: and who but *William Pinchin* to be his assistant in the business; and his house (*William Pinchin* knew how to bring him in a reckoning) appointed for the *entertainment* of their *Minister*: and so might *William Pinchin* bid him call himself to

mind

mind, and perſwade him that he was at *Church* at that time ſo long, that at length *Nicholas Spenſer* might perſwade himſelf that he was there indeed. As the *confident Cheater* in the *Dialogue* fancying that he ſaw a fearful fiery Dragon in the sky, and reporting it to his companions, (*what with pointing to the place, what with calling on them to look ſtedfaſtly, what with wondering at them that they were ſo dull ſighted as not to ſee a thing which was ſo obvious*) at length ſo prevails with them, that they are perſwaded that they ſee it likewiſe. The ground of this my conjecture is, becauſe I have heard that *William Pinchin* hath practiſed with ſeveral other perſons in the like kind. Nay more, the *influence* which *William Pinchin* hath upon this ſame *Nicholas Spenſer* is ſo great, that even their own *man* and *aſſociate* Mr. *Stern* hath obſerved it: and hath (as I have been told) reported it, *That* William Pinchin *did lead* Nicholas Spenſer *about the Pariſh by the noſe*. Further yet, and perchance moſt eſpecially, it muſt be *remembred* that *Nicholas Spenſer* and *William Pinchin* are both *Tenants* to the ſame *Landlord*, a *Gentleman* as yet under age, who (if at all) hath been but ſeldom in thoſe parts amongſt them himſelf, and I think but few others in his behalf. Now there go ſeveral reports that *William Pinchin* and *Nicholas Spenſer* have both been very bold with their *Landlords wood* and *timber*, *felling* when and where they had no *Licenſe*; and ſuch

Eraſ. Coll. Spectrum.

woods and timber, of which by their good wills they would never *give account*; ſo that *Nic. Spenſer* knowing *William Pinchin* to be ſo dangerous a man to ſwear, might think it good for himſelf to *ſtrain himſelf ſomewhat* to gratifie ſo good a fellow tenant, leſt otherwiſe *William Pinchin* ſhould *fetch trip*, and in another place remember ſomething againſt *Nicholas Spenſer* which he would not be willing to hear of.

Sect. 9. But now as touching the ſecond thing, *the means which the perſons ſwearing theſe contraditions had to know the truth in this particular*. It is out of doubt that *William Pinchin* and *William Cottle* were not in ſight, and it is doubted whether *Nicholas Spenſer* were then in the *Church*, and yet theſe charge us. But now it is out of doubt that both *William Love* and *Richard Cottle* were then in the *Church*, and both ſaw and obſerved all paſſages, and yet theſe acquit us. Again, *William Pinchin*, *William Cottle*, and *Nicholas Spenſer*, who charge him with being overtaken in *Beer*, did not ſee him, nor any of the company beſide on that day *drink ſo much as a drop of Beer*, and yet we have others who *dined* with him, *who kept him company afterward*, *who came along with him into the Church*, and ſaw *him go to the Tower ſtairs*, *depoſing that he drank no more then might do him good*, *and that he was not diſtempered with Beer*. There is no Queſtion that had *John Thriſt* eſcaped

escaped that fatal accident, *Nicholas Spenser* would never have remembred his *absurd carriage* or *sworn that he had been overtaken in Beer*: But now his *untimely end* hath encouraged *Nicholas Spenser* to be far more *unbearitable* towards him then were the *Jews* towards those *Galileans*, whose *blood* Pilate *mingled with their sacrifices*. *John Thrift* must be *distempered*, he must be a *sinner* above other men, because such a thing *befell* him. I could beside these Witnesses have produced more witnesses of as unquestionable credit, who were then at my house likewise: but I cast with my self that if two or three were not enough, then were twenty too few.

There was not then any *profanation of the Lords day* at *my house by excessive drinking*. Sect. 10.

I add 2. no nor by *feasting* neither: for the *Commissioners* have the Testimony of some, and might have had of more, that (as to me) they all came by *accident*, and without any invitation, and some of them were such who had been on the *Lords day many a time* with Mr. *Chambers* at a *greater distance* on the like occasion.

Next after the Deposition of *Nicholas Spenser*, the Deposition of *Nicholas Nowel* and *Jone* his wife was taken in these words; Sect. 11.

Nicholas Nowel *and* Jone *his wife being sworn*,

ſay, That Mr. Buſhnell *with Colonel* Eyre *and his man came to their houſe (an Alehouſe at the foot of* Box *hill) and there remained about an hour and an half, where they drank nine Jugs of Beer, for which Mr.* Buſhnell *paid* 18 *d. and then drank Mr.* Spekes *and other* Gentlemens *healths, and ſay that Coll.* Eyres *man drank one of the nine Jugs, and they two drank now and then a glaſſe of the reſt, and no perſon elſe.*

Sect. 17. This Depoſition I muſt tell thee, although the youngeſt of all, as being the 21. yet in their *Clerks* copy it hath gotten the prehe-minence of *place* before many of his fellows. Now before I come to ſpeak to the Depoſition it ſelf, I ſhall premiſe a few things to thee, which *moved theſe Deponents thus to ſwear*, as it was at this time there teſtified upon Oath before theſe *Deponents* faces, and *confeſt* by theſe perſons themſelves. I had at that time ſeveral witneſſes with me for my vindication whereof ſome were *wholly* rejected, the Depoſitions of others *never entred*, and of ſome their Depoſitions *entred*, and yet left out of the *Clerks copy*, and of others their Depoſitions *entred* by *halfs*, as I have already told thee, and ſhall tell thee more in due time. But (although with much adoe) I then got the Depoſition of *Henry Sheyler* to be both heard and taken; part whereof relating to this buſineſs was in theſe words.

And

And this Deponent farther ſaith,

That Nich. Nowell *before ſworn told this Deponent on Saturday morning laſt, that Mr.* Travers *offered to take off his bonds, that he might ſell Ale again, if he would appear and ſwear againſt Mr.* Buſhnel; *and that yeſterday he ſaid he would not have appeared and been ſworn, had not Mr.* Buſhnell *at the time mentioned in* Nowels *Depoſition, told Colonel* Eyre *of his Gun, and ſaid that therewith he uſed to kill Hares, and Pigeons.*

Here I muſt tell thee firſt, That *Index Expurgatorius* hath been here with his pruning knife again; for *Henry Sheyler* then depoſed; *Sect.* 13.

That William Pinchin *was at the ſame time with* John Travers, *and made* Nowell *the ſame proffer and promiſes.*

I muſt tell thee further, that ſoon after this Depoſition of *Henry Sheyler* was taken, *Nowels* wife (being before at a window and hearing what had paſſed) comes towards the Doctor, (for unto *him* were the moſt *eſpecial addreſſes* made) and after a long and a low Courteſie adds,

Yea surely if Mr. Bushnell *had not to pick a thank with Coll.* Eyre *told him of my Husbands Gun, and said that therewith he used to kill Hares and Pigeons, we would not have been here to day to have sworn against him.* And still continuing Courtesing to Mr. *Chambers*, (who then turned his head about and looked towards her) she adds farther, *That he had known her of a long time.*

Now if it be true what the Country reports of her, she hath in her time been a *very virtuous woman*, and of *very credible* acquaintance. Now when I heard these words so unexpectedly spoken, and that there was as much or more *confest* then we desired to *prove*, I could not choose but smile. Which Mr. *Byfield* noting, was much displeased with, adding withal to this purpose, *That it was not, or, that I should not finde it a laughing matter.* Indeed it is true, it was no laughing matter. *Christians* ought to be *sorry* for others offences, and such an *offence* I shall prove this to be, that it is no lesse then *perjury*. And yet thus much let me tell Mr. *Byfields* friends, that if I were to *blame for laughing* at it, then certainly he and his *Commissioners* deserved no commendation for *making use* of this Testimony; it is enough to make the evidence suspected, yea and (be it what it will) rejected too by equall

equall Judges. If it ſhall appear to them, (and it was evident enough here) That the *witneſſes* depoſe out of *malice*, or for *hopes* of *reward*. Nay more, ſuch informers are looked upon as guilty of *falſhood*, although they ſpake nothing but what was *true*. I wiſh that his ſurviving friends would take notice of the marginal quotations and practiſe accordingly, where they may ſee that notwithſtanding *Doeg* ſpake no more then what was *true*, and *nothing* but what he had *ſeen* and *heard*; yet *David* charged him for *telling of lies*, and with *having a falſe tongue for it*; giving us to know thus much, that it is all one to *ſpeak the untruth or the truth*, if the *truth* be ſpoken in an *undue* manner. Proportionably ſay I, in caſe it had been true what they informed, yet (ſince the *impulſive* which incited them unto it was *ſpleen* and *revenge*, for a conceived injury which I had done them ſome *ſeven years* before, and their *aime* ſome hopes that they might ſell *Ale* again) may they be as juſtly taxed of *falſhood* and *lying* as *Doeg* was. Nay farther, *Doegs* was a bare *information*, and no more, and therefore *David* chargeth him only with *lying* and *falſhood*, but doubtleſs he would have had another name for it, if he had *thus ſpoken* upon *Oath*. Nor can any deny it, but that if he who *ſpeaks a truth* after that *undue manner* ſpeaks *falſly*; then thoſe who *ſwear a truth* after that *undue manner* ſwears *falſly*. And could M^r. *Byfield*

1 Sam. 21. 6, 9.
1 Sam. 22. 10.
Pſal. 52. 2, 3, 4.

field countenance, encourage and serve his turn with such vile practises as these, and yet thunder against me for smiling at them?

Matth. 23. 23, 24. Could he *strain at this gnat, and swallow the other Camel?* I shall desire them to observe it that our *Saviour* speaks the words to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whom he calls there *Hypocrites*; the *Scribes* went for the *knowing*, the *Pharisees* for the *just, holy*, or *godly* of the times, yet both these our *Blessed Saviour* chargeth with *blindness* and *hypocrisie*, to give us to know thus much, that in case we be *Scribes*, never so *knowing*; yet if our eyes are alwayes on others, and never on our selves, we are no better then *blind*: or in case we be *Pharisees*, and of never so much *pretended sanctity*, yet (in case we should be rigid against others, if we be indulgent to our selves, quick to observe and aggravate, and multiply and judge anothers mote, and wholly in the mean time to forget our own beam) we are no better then *Hypocrites*; *Ye blind guides which strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel.*

Sect. 14. But to return to the Depositions. *Henry Sheyler*, hath deposed

That *William Pinchin* and *John Travers* proffered to *take up their Bond, that they might sell Ale again in case they would appear and swear against me.*

Now

Now I muſt tell thee that (beſide this hope, and their quarrel againſt me about the Gun) I believe that *Nowel* and *his wife* had another thing to incite them to appear againſt me, which was that they looked upon *me* as *one* who had been a *cauſe* that their *former Licenſe* was taken away. For I muſt tell thee that (beſide many diſorders which I had heard of from this *Nowels* houſe, lying not at the foot of *Box hill*, as it is in the Depoſition, but in a remote place both of the *Pariſh* and *the County*) there was a complaint made to me by the *wife* of one *John Pitcher*, living not far from this *Nowels* houſe, which (as far as I can remember) was to this purpoſe: *That her husband* John Pitcher *did uſually haunt this* Nowels *houſe, and that for whole dayes and nights together; that he there moſt waſtfully ſpent his money which he earned at his hard labour: ſhe his wife and many ſmall children in the mean time wanting neceſſaries.* I think ſhe then told me that her *husband had pawn'd ſome of his houſhold goods* (as platters or the like) *for Beer*; but this I am ſure ſhe then told me, that (what for ſome money in hand, what for the ſatisfaction of an old ſcore) *he was making over a ſmall parcel of ſheep which they* had, to this *Nowel*, *which if he did, ſhe ſayes that ſhe and her children muſt go naked.* She told me farther, *That her husband coming thence in his diſtemperature, was very outragious and unnatural towards his wife and children; that he had been there the laſt night, that he came home but that morning,*

which

which was the Lords-day, and that she had left him at home asleep. I (hearing this sad story from her, and guessing both by her *countenance* and *habit*, that her condition was very lamentable, and knowing that she had many small children) bade my servants to take her in, to relieve her, and withall commanded that they should give her somewhat to carry home for her children, she having told me before, that *she had at home no sustenance* for for those small children, *nor money to buy*; but before she went away, I asked her *what her husbands carriage was towards her and her children when he was himself and sober?* she told me that it was *both loving* and *careful*, and *that he was never so outragious as when he was set on by this* Jone Nowel; whereupon I (considering the perishing condition which her poor small children were then in, as likewise doubting what might happen in case her husband should awake, and find her missing, having such a woman as this *Jone Nowell* at his elbow) advised her for the present to repair to her home, to relieve her children, and not by any means to speak to her husband until he were sober: but then in a friendly manner to acquaint him *where she had been*, and *what she had done*: assuring her further, that if this were the order of *Nowels* house, there should be a course taken with them without her further trouble. Now so it was, that sometime after this *Nowels License* was taken away,

and

and he forced to *give bond* to sell no more. The consideration of these things make me to have a strong conjecture, that *Nowels* wife conceived that I had acquainted *Col. Eyre* with their *prophanesses* and *disorders*, aswell as with her *husbands Sins*, and that now (having this opportunity, and the countenance of *the Duke, her antient acquaintance*) they were resolved to be revenged on *us both*, (I mean the *Colonel* and my self) both for the one and the other.

But let us now come to the Deposition it self. To which I shall say, 1. That it is true, that *Colonel Eyre*, his man *William Daniel* and my self, coming from *Bath* one Evening alighted at this house standing neer to the high-way. The reason why we alighted was, because the *Colonel* complained that he was a cold, the season being frosty, and the time about the 29. of *Decemb.* 1649. And having a very good fire there made, we sate down for some time and warmed our selves: *Col. Eyres* man, and another (I take it be was a son of this *Jane Nowell*, which she bore in the time of her former husband) in the mean time walking our Horses without. I very well remember it that we *drank* there, I very well remember it, (for I entred it upon my Book of disbursements assoon as I came home) that I delivered to this *Jane Nowel*, 18. *d.* Which I did at the motion of *Col. Eyre*, he having at that time no silver *Sect.* 15.

silver about him; which we looked not upon as reckoning, as if in Beer we had spent so much, but in regard that we had there a very good fire, that there was one all the time without with our Horses; as also for that we looked upon them as poor people, we made light of it, and paid it. Touching *drinking Healths*, I am confident they swear at random: if any thing, it might be *remembrances*, which (I know not the reason of it) is both a *name* and *thing*, which passed among these *Commissioners*, with better acceptance: but if one or other, then certainly must the latter part of their Deposition, *That they two drank now and then a glass, be false*; for in such cases *William Pinchin* hath told us the use is to put the *Healths or Remembrances round*: and if so, then there is no doubt but that they had their portion likewise; and I must tell thee that I have since heard (for at the time mentioned in the Deposition, I had very little acquaintance there, this being the first time that I ever was in the house since I came to *Box*, and indeed the only time, excepting that I was once there since, when I went about from door to door to beg for Mr. *Blisset*, Mr. *Hunt*, and Mr. *Bayly*, and the rest of *Marlborough*) that this *Jone Nowell* will not refuse her cup when it comes to her turn. Nay, as *I have heard*, she will rather be on the fore-hand, taking two for the others one, which she hath done at *Corsham* so long, till she hath made her

her self worse then a beast, and not able to goe but by the support of her Neighbours, whereof one carryed her *Basket*, and the other haled along the *Woman*, the worse luggage of the twain. I have been told too, that she then *fell* into a *pool* with her *head forward*, and tis like enough, had not her neighbours, *William Westbury* at whose house she lodged that night, and *Thomas Druet, Sen.* with much trouble and labour brought her to *Box*, she might at that time have made an end, and so the Doctor had lost both her *Testimony* and *Courtesie*.

And by their own confession our stay there was but short [*about an hour and an half*] and our discourse such as did not in any wise savour of *excessive drinking*. I remember that I told Colonel *Eyre* of the *Gun*, it stood then in sight in the Chimney. I told him likewise, that therewith he used to kill *Hares* and *Pigeons*; but they seem to have forgotten it (a willing ignorance no doubt) that I then told the *Colonel*, that therewith he usually kild *Hares* and *Pigeons* on the *Lords-day*; it having been (as I have been told) a common practice with this *Nowell* so to do; and being met on a time with his *Gun* by one who was going to *Church*, and admonished by him to go along with him: this *Nicholas Nowell* gave him this answer, *That he got not his living by going to Church.* *Sect.* 16.

And

And I assure thee what I told the Colonel, I therefore did it that *Nicholas Nowell* might by this private Complaint to a *Justice* of Peace take warning, and that he without any further trouble to the *Magistrate*, or *charge* or *punishment* to himself, would for the future, without any more adoe have become a *new man*. And whereas they cite this *Geat*. Collonel *Eyre*, as one that was with me at the same time at their house; I shall acquaint thee with somewhat which Collonel *Eyre* had formerly deposed as with reference to my self before these *Commissioners*, in these words.

And this Deponent saith further,

June 4. 1656. at *Caln.* *That he hath known* Mr. Bushnell *this thirty years, and hath frequently kept him company, but never saw him drink to excess, and in his opinion have ever walkt as circumspectly as might become a Minister.*

So far that part of his Deposition. Now if Collonel *Eyre* never saw me drink to excess, then certainly not now at *Nowels*. And (if they say that this our being at *Nowels* might be at the time that he so deposed have slipt his memory) I shall acquaint thee, That even touching this our being at *Nowels* he was ready shortly after to Depose to every one of the particulars in charge against us, according as I have presented the particulars unto

Jul. 54, 55. at *Lavington.*

unto thee; but Mr. *Byfield* and his friends had before they parted at this time from *Marlborough* taken a course to prevent that, for they made an order (conceived to be on purpose to leave Collonel *Eyre* and my self under the infamy of *Nowels Deposition*) without remedy or hopes of vindication of ourselves) That no witnesses which I should produce, should be heard or admitted of; of which I shall tell thee more in the close of the Transactions of this day.

I am yet behind with the Deposition of *William Sanders*, which I told thee because it did much refer to the Transactions of this day, I should defer it till then. The Deposition is in these words; *Sect.* 17.

William Sanders *of* Chippenham *Shoemaker deposeth, That about four years since he saw Mr.* Bushnell *come from the Bell in* Box *reeling to and fro three or four foot at a time; and saith that he believes that he was then drunk, for that he fell down, having been at the Bell four or five hours in the company of Mr.* Cannings, *and Mr.* Edward Long *of the* Moor, *and saith, that after he fell in the street he rise again, and so reeled home.*

Touching which Deposition, I shall offer to thy consideration, *Sect.* 18.

1. *The thing it self as it is reported.*

2. *The*

2. *The repute or quality of the person who thus deposeth.* As

3. *Some inducements which might incourage him to appear and swear any thing.*

As touching the *First*, *That I came from the Bell reeling three or four foot at a time; that I had been there four or five hours; that I fell down, that I rose again and so reeled home.*

To this I shall answer, That if this were true, it is almost impossible but that others should see it as well as *William Sanders*. For

1. It must be in the day time, else he could not see it, and if in the day time, others must needs see it beside, for the distance betwixt the Bell and my house is at least a *furlong*, and there are many houses and crosse wayes between them; and I believe that you shall hardly go between those two houses from sun rising to sun set, but you shall see and be seen of many; and can he quote no body, not *William Pinchin*, or *Nowell*, or *Gottle*, or *Nicholas Spenser*, or *Obadiah Cheltenham*, or some such like, which saw it beside himself? It was at *Caln* that *William Kawlin's* wife appeared according to a Summons procured by the information of *William Sanders*, he affirming that *she* had seen it as well as himself; but when as the woman came to depose, she could testifie no such thing, but all on the *contrary*, and to my *vindication* and their *infamy*, if she might have been permitted to go on: But her name is

June 4. 1656.

not

not at all in the Depoſitions, it being the uſe to take thoſe Depoſitions which imported matter of charge againſt me, but nothing which might repreſent either them or their Witneſſes in their colours. And

2. Whereas he ſayes, *that I had been there three or four hours*, he muſt needs intimate to us thus much, that he himſelf had been at that houſe ſo long. But now conſidering the *conditions* of the woman which then kept that houſe, this is as impoſſible to be true as the other; for ſhe hath often told me of it ſince (and I am confident that ſhe will depoſe it) that ſhe would be ſo far from entertaining this *William Sanders* in her houſe for *four or five hours*, as that by her good will ſhe would not have admitted him to come within her doors.

And therefore in the next place let us come *Sect.* 19. to enquire into the *conditions* and *qualities* of this *William Sanders*; and ſee whether he were a perſon of ſuch *credit* as the *Ordinance* requires. I ſhall firſt repreſent him unto thee as he was upon Oath repreſented unto theſe *Commiſſioners*: and after give thee a ſhort ſtory of his *infamies*, every particular whereof (had the *Commiſſioners* been ſo juſt as to have given us leave) ſhould have been proved upon Oath likewiſe.

Sect. 20. The first in these words;

June 4. William Eyre *Esq*; *being sworn saith, That sometime since, divers persons being impeached for committing divers* Robberies *about* Sandy-lane, William Sanders, *before sworn, was accused to be one of them, and was at the Assizes arraigned for the same, and found guilty by the* Grand Jury, *but in favour of life was acquitted by the* Petty Jury.

The next in these words;

July 1. Reynald Arlet *deposeth, That* 15 *years since,* Sanders *before sworn, committed Sacriledge by cutting and stealing the Church Leads.*

The third in these words;

July 1. William Morley *deposeth, That under the pretence of a Souldier, the said* Sanders *in the wars broke up this Deponents Brothers house, and took goods thence to a good value.*

A fourth in these words;

July 1. Michael Baylie *deposeth, That about eight years since, without provocation, the said* Sanders

Sanders *fell on his own Father, and beat him, and said that he would make an end of the old rogue.*

These are the very words of the Depositions as they are under the *Clerks* hand; although either not taken, or not copied out so fully as the Witnesses deposed in very many remarkable circumstances.

It must not be forgotten, that before these *three last* Depositions were taken at *Marlborough*, the Doctor (belike having before either instructed *William Pinchin* what was to be done, or else having been informed by *William Pinchin* what he had done) beckens to *William Pinchin* with his hands and twinkling of his eyes, it seems as doubting that *William Pinchin* had forgotten himself. Whereupon *William Pinchin* approacheth, and with a *low conge* delivers to the Doctor a piece of Paper, which the Doctor conveyes to Mr. *Blisset* with some such words, *There is a Testimony of this man* (meaning *Sanders*) *behaviour*; which was by Mr. *Blisset* read accordingly. The business was but short, and my thoughts so much upon this Doctor, that I little noted it; only I remember that there were the names of some whom I knew, set to it, and the names of others which I have heard of; of which (as likewise the false pretences by which this Certificate was gotten) more anon. *Sect.* 21. *July* 1.

Sect. 27. I ſhall tell thee here that *William Sanders* being queſtioned for the *ſacriledge* mentioned but now, fled; and ſheltred himſelf from proſecution (as the report goeth) in one or both of the *Armies*; and that he ſtands anſwerable for this *ſacriledge* even to this hour; And was it not an handſome thing in the Doctor to *countenance* this man againſt the *Miniſter*, that had *robbed* the *Church*? that in ſtead of bringing of him to condigne puniſhment for *ſacriledge* which he was then proved guilty of, he ſhould then endeavour to bear him out in his *perjury* likewiſe? But there were men heretofore of ſuch *Principles* (I ſhall ſay more of them hereafter) that regarded not who they were they made uſe of, if ſerviceable to their ends; that could *Saint*, and *Anathematize*, the ſame perſon accordingly as he ſtood with reference to their intereſt; if for them, then had they good words enough for him; if not, then he was none of the *Godly*.

But to return to the preſent buſineſs; *William Morleys* Depoſition tels us, that *Sanders* brake open his Brothers houſe under the pretence of a *Souldier*; belike conceiving that as that pretence had ſheltred him for breaking *Gods houſe*, ſo it might encourage him to break open and rob *his Neighbours*. I muſt tell thee further, that *Sanders* doth as yet ſtand guilty of this *felony* likewiſe.

And

And this was conceived to be the reaſon why his *Certificate* was at this time delivered in by his Proxie *William Pinchin* (it being thought that *Sanders* himſelf was then in Town:) for they thought that if *Sanders* himſelf had appeared in perſon, he ſhould have been apprehended for his former *felonies*, and ſo ſent to a place where he ſhould have been ſecured from ſtarting.

I love not to trouble my ſelf or thee with the whole ſtory of his *infamies*; let the Reader enquire after him in any place where he hath lived, and I believe that an eſpecial token that he will be remembred by, will be ſome vile prank that he hath plaid; and the truth is, that when this *Sanders* appeared at *Bix* Church-houſe where his Father lived, we of the Neighbourhood conjectured, either that he had done ſome pranck elſewhere, and was come thither to ſhelter himſelf, or that he was come thither to do ſome good pranck; in order whereunto it was obſerved that he was much accuſtomed to night-walking, as he pretended to go a Fiſhing, and ſuch was their credit, if any thing were *loſt* (Sheep or the like) and *ſearch* to be made, the houſe which the *Officers* did uſually begin with was the *Church-houſe*, where this *Sanders* Father lived and harboured him. *Sect.* 23.

Sect. 24. Yet with a pranck or two of his being of latter dayes, being *notoriously* known and *infamous*, I ſhall here acquaint thee with: ſometime in the year 1654. I think it was about the 15. or 16. of *September*, this *Sanders* being at an *Alehouſe* in *Pickwick* in the Pariſh of *Corſham*, in the company of one *Thomas Stockman* of *Bathford*, he falls there to abuſe him ſo far forth, as that he forced him to pay a reckoning for Beer, *&c.* which *Sanders* had ſpent before *Stockman* came in, and afterwards following the poor man, going homeward (it being night) in a lane about half a mile from the houſe where they had drank, this *Sanders overtakes* him, *knocks him down*, *robs* and *wounds him* ſo *grievouſly*, that he lay ſometimes under the hands of a charitable perſon for his recovery: Inſomuch that complaint was made to a *Juſtice* of Peace, who grants forth his Warrant (yet to be ſhewn) againſt *Sanders*: but (I know not the cauſe of it) this Warrant was never ſerved upon him, ſo that he ſtands guilty of this *aſſault* and *robbery*, even to this hour. Thus much hath *Thomas Stockman* formerly affirmed, although at this time he would neither be *depoſed* of it, nor *proſecute Sanders* for it; for ſince the time that he was rob'd, and this *July* 1. this *Thomas Stockman* is faln off to the *Quakers*; and therefore conceives *Oaths* and *proſecutions* to be againſt his *Principles*. And all this would have been teſtified

Dated Sept. 19. 1654. Subſcribed *Edward Stokes.*

fied to the *Commiſſioners*, if they would have given my witneſſes leave to ſpeak. I ſhall trouble thee with one paſſage more: I having ſome diſcourſe ſince with a man of *Corſham* (one whom the *Doctor* knows, and pretends to reſpect much) touching this *buſineſs*, and having told him that *Sanders* was an eſpecial witneſs againſt me; the man by way of wonder ſpeaks to this purpoſe: *Why they would not take the Teſtimony of ſuch a rogue as* Sanders, *I think, would they?* and then tells me a ſtory that *Sanders on a time coming to his houſe, ſits him down by the fire, where the man* (having ſome occaſion to go into another place) *left him ſitting, but at his return* (which it ſeems was ſooner then *Sanders* expected) *he finds this* Sanders *with his feet ſtanding in the fire, and his head and his hands up in the Chimney ſtealing Bacon that hang'd there.* Nay, even at this time; his *Oath*, and *behaviour* were ſuch, that it bred aſtoniſhment even in thoſe that countenanced him. Inſomuch that *John Travers* ſitting by, and hearing his Depoſition, was overheard to ſay to this purpoſe; There *is a rogue to ſwear, I could not keep him ſober a day together, but that he would be drunk every day.*

And indeed the *Commiſſioners* might ſoon have perceived the *truth*, and *credit* of this man, if they would have noted, or been informed touching words by him then ſpoken, he being then upon Oath: and thoſe were *Sect.* 25.

touching his *fidelity* to the *State*, and his *service* done to the *State*: and the *wounds* (as he reported yet to be seen) which he had received in the *State-service*. Whereas it would have been proved (if they would have heard my witnesses) That he received those *wounds* when he was in *arms* against the *State*, and under the command of *Captain Thinn*: and 'tis like enough that he had there continued still, had he not fear'd that they would have *hanged him* for *breaking open* and *robbing houses*; and this fear it was, and not any good will which forced him over to the other party, there to secure himself: and as *John Travers* reported it, brought a *good Horse* with him; to give them some assurance that he durst not go back again to that party from whence he fled; and (as *Sanders* then affirmed) he became a *Souldier* under *Captain Travers*, a fitting match, like *Captain*, *and like Souldier*.

Sect. 26. But may some say, That all this, however true, makes *him* no more then a *thief* or a *robber* of both *God* and *man*; or a *plunderer*, or a *paricide*, a *profaner* or a *drunkard*, or the like. But now this doth not wholly disinable his Testimony; but could I make it appear that he had formerly *foresworn* himself, that then I had said something to the purpose. To this I shall answer,

1. That by their *instructions* the *Commissioners*

were to take the Teſtimony of none but *credible* witneſſes: and then certainly it will appear by that which hath been already ſaid, that *Sanders* to all unintereſted men is nothing like it: we cannot prove it that thoſe who *bare falſe witneſs* againſt *Naboth*, did ever *bear falſe witneſs* againſt *any* before: But this it was which rendered them ſuſpicious (and with juſt Judges ſhould have been cauſe enough to abhor them) becauſe they were *ſons of Belial*, wicked, miſchievous, lawleſs men; men of ſo much known infamy, that they would not ſtick at any thing, which was put upon them, be it either to ſpeak or to do, but in the *general* were ready for any wicked imployment, and for the *particular* fitted themſelves according to their occaſions who imployed them. Such who held a common ſhop for all commers, and would furniſh their cuſtomers according to their likings. And here by theſe Commiſſioners leave, I ſhall tell them, that there are other exceptions as well as *former perjury*; which with equal Judges, (ſuch who have the *diſcretion to know*, and the *conſcience* to practiſe juſt things) may render ſome witneſſes *unworthy of credit*. In that famous trial of *Faulconers* perjury in the caſe of the *Lord Craven*, we have ſeveral proofs brought in touching *Faulconers* former behaviour and credit; and all taken (a piece of juſtice, which I could not obtain from theſe *Commiſſioners*) as that this *Faulconer* had been *a blaſ-*

phemous

phemous debaucht man, a cousening and cheating fellow, and one that had been several times committed for suspicion of felony; and all for this purpose, to make it probable that he who *formerly* had (for nothing, or but a small matter of profit) committed such *horrid crimes*, would not for some *greater matter* stick *to forswear himself.*

Sect. 27. And now I shall add 2. That the *Doctor* and his *Commissioners* had a better opinion of *Sanders*, then *Sanders* had of himself; for *Sanders* was so far *conscious* to himself, that his *guilty conscience* did so far misgive him, as to make him doubt that his *former infamies* had been so *odious*, as that they had been enough to *disinable* him to give in any thing in point of Evidence, and to take off all his *testimony* in all places whatsoever. For thy further satisfaction in this particular, I shall now acquaint thee with the *false pretences* and *lies* wherewithal *Sanders*, or such as acted for him, got hands to that forementioned *Certificate* which Mr. *Chambers* so tenderly delivered in. After *June* 4. at *Caln.* such time as *Sanders* had deposed against me, belike fore-seeing that I should recriminate, he goes, or procures some to go to some of the *Burrough of Chippenham*, and tells them to some such purpose, *That he was to appear the next assize at* Sarum *as a witness in a trial*: in order whereunto *he desires their hands to a Certificate touching his behaviour for half a year last past.*

paſt. Doubting (as it was informed) that otherwiſe his Teſtimony would not be taken, in regard of his former infamies, being both notorious and frequent. Such, as I have heard, was his relation; but I muſt tell thee that this relation was falſe in every particular. For

1. *Sanders* dreads an *Aſſize* or *Seſſions* as much or far more then he doth a *Peſt-houſe*; nor can you fright him worſe then to tell him that he muſt appear there.

2. This *Certificate* pretended for the *Aſſize* at *Sarum* (where *Sanders* did not appear, nor had he any buſineſs there) was delivered in *three weeks* before at *Marlborough*.

3. This Certificate deſired to enable *him to take an Oath*, was framed and delivered in after *the Oath* was taken. So that *Sanders* or *his agents* have herein notoriouſly falſified, and impoſed upon his neighbours at *Chippenham*, as ſome of them (if I have not been miſ-informed) have acknowledged: proteſting againſt it, and complaining that he hath groſly abuſed them, in *procuring their hands with a lying pretence, & afterward carrying them to ſuch a place, and uſing them to ſuch a purpoſe, which was contrary both to his pretence and their intention.* So that we have here that old piece of *Policy* practiſed, *Scelere velandum eſt ſcelus*, one, a former wickedneſs covered with a latter; falſe-ſwearing plaiſtered over with a lie; by *lying* he procures

cures this *Certificate*, that he might imploy it to cover his former falſe Oaths. Now I do not wonder that *William Pinchin*, *Nicholas Spenſer*, *William Sanders* and *Obadiah Cheltenham* ſhould contrive and practiſe ſuch unworthy courſes; my wonder is, that the *Doctor* ſhould ſo *demurely* put to his helping hand for the promoting of them; nay that he ſhould be more forward then *William Pinchin*: and readier to call for it then *William Pinchin* was to deliver it in. But doubtleſs the *Caln buſtneſs did yet ſtick in the Doctors ſtomach*; there were a generation of men heretofore *great pretenders to godlineſs*, that were very *touchie*, and very *implacable*; and perchance before I make an end of this diſcourſe, I ſhall make ſome obſerves to the *Doctor* of the *Agagite* in the *Old Teſtament*, and the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* in the *New*.

Sect. 28. And now for a full anſwer to that *Queſtion*, *But* can you *prove Sanders* to be *perjured* before? I ſhall ſay that readily I cannot, perchance, nor none beſide: and this is the reaſon of it, becauſe 'tis believed that this was the *firſt* time that ever he was admitted a witneſs upon Oath againſt *any*; and 'tis like enough that therefore *he* forſwore not himſelf *before this time*, becauſe that before this time he had no *opportunity*: the want of which we know hath reſtrain'd many a one from wicked-

wickedneſs, which otherwayes they have had a minde unto. By his own acknowledgment he looks upon his credit as much craſed, otherwiſe he never would have importuned for this *certificate*. I think it be not uſual for men to carry their *certificates* with them in ſuch caſes *to any Aſſize*.

But the *Commiſſioners* (being belike pleaſed with his Depoſition, becauſe he had ſworn as they would have him, and having in him found ſuch a one as they had looked for of a long time) were by any means willing to preſerve his reputation; in order whereunto the Doctor (as I have ſaid) delivers in the Certificate: Mr. *Byfield*, Mr. *Bayly*, Mr. *Hunt*, thwart with, interrupt and turn back my Witneſſes, that they might not inform how infamous *Sanders* had been. And Mr. *Bliſſet* (he loves to have ſomething rare by himſelf) to rebate the edge of the Depoſitions of Colonel *Eyre*, *Rainold Arlet*, *William Morley*, and *Michael Baily*, ſayes, *that thoſe offences were committed long ago*, and that ſince *he*, that is, *Sanders*, *might become a new man*, or to ſome ſuch purpoſe. But now I would fain know of M. *Bliſſet*, when this reformation began in *William Sanders*? or (if that Queſtion may ſeem to *ſignifie nothing*) by what teſtimony in his life and converſation hath this *Sanders* evidenced it, that there is any reformation at all wrought in him? As I remember, Sir *Walter Raleigh* *Sect.* 29.

Raleigh rejects the book of *Judith* from being ſo much as *Apocryphal*, becauſe he cannot find any *time*, *age*, or *century* wherein to place it. And I doubt me that Mr. *Bliſſet* would have as much to do to find out the time when *William Sanders* reformation began, or any thing that doth reſemble it, unleſs he means that his Oaths againſt me have merited ſo far as that his name doth now deſerve to be put into *red letters*. And tell me Mr. *Bliſſet*, when did his reformation begin? Did it begin when he was before you at *Caln?* I have told you already, and had proved it (if they would have heard my Witneſſes) that he then *forſwore himſelf in your preſence*; affirming then upon Oath, *That he had received thoſe wounds in the States ſervice, which he received in the Kings*; or in a drunken fray at *Chippenham*; or did it commence as his *Certificate* was delivered in at *Marlborough?* I have told you already by how many falſhoods and lies he obtained it; no ſigns of *amendment* theſe, no nor of *change* neither, unleſs the *change* be for the *worſe*. Beſides the man whoſe houſe he brake up and robbed at *Swainſwick* hath ſince told me;

Jan. 15. 1658. *That he then took from him to the value of Twenty Marks, that he and his fare the worſe for't to this hour.*

Sanders in the mean time who hath robbed him,

him, and ſpent, or worne out, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of his goods, ſlants it abroad, bears it high, & is ſo far from making this man any part of *ſatisfaction*, as that he comes not near him ſo much as to *acknowledge* that he hath *done him any wrong*. *Anne ſunt hæ veſtes filii tui?* Do your Reformadoes, *your godly* men go thus clad? are robberies, and lies, and perjuries proper arguments of a reformation, Mr. *Bliſſet*? *Do grapes bear thorns, or figs thiſtles?*

And now Mr. *Bliſſet* muſt give me leave to reply upon him, and ſay, that if *William Sanders* were ſuch a villain ſo long ago, and yet no amendment perceived in him, what an overwaxen and overgrown Monſter may he be by this time? To what an height of wickedneſs may he be mounted up unto, that was guilty of *Sacriledge* when as he was not much *above twenty?* I remember that *Medea* in the *Tragedy* meditating miſchief and revenge, ſtudies to do ſomething which was anſwerable to her years; conceiving ſomething more then ordinary to be proportionable now, becauſe ſhe had committed ſeveral ſtrange wickedneſſes when ſhe was but a Girle. — *Hæc virgo feci* — thus and thus I did, *thus I murthered my Brother, after this manner I deceived my Father many a year agone, when I was but young:* But, *Majora jam dicent ſcelera; Greater wickedneſſes may be expected now from me,* *Sect.* 30. *Sen. Trag. Med.*

now

now that I am at full growth, and am both a woman and a Mother. Proportionably say I, This *William Sanders* might (beside many fair inducements from the *Commissioners* and *Suborners*) encourage himself to some notable villanie from this, that he had been so infamous so long ago; and might say to himself, *That it is but a little more then what I have done already, that I am now about to do. I have already many a time, and oft broke those commands, which enjoyned me not to profane the Lords day, not to dishonor my parents, not to kill, not to steal:* and it is but a little more, if for once *I break the next Command likewise*, that says *I must not bear false witness*, and *swear falsely against a Minister.* And now that I have done with Mr. *Blisset* as touching *Sanders*; let me add something to *Doctor Chambers*, as with reference to the same person. I have told thee that at such time as (amongst other notorious infamies) we had proved *Sanders* to have fain upon his own Father, to have thrown him down, and beaten him, saying, that he would make an end of the old Rogue; Mr. *Chambers* calls for a Certificate, and promotes it in this *Sanders* his behalf. And this was the second time wherein he shewed himself very forward either to *countenance* or *defend* such who by the Law of *God* had forfeited their lives. 1. In the behalf of *William Pinchin*; and here in the behalf of *Sanders*: making those crimes to be but *small differences*

Exod. 21. 15, 17.

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in the one, and no *great matter* in the other; which *Gods* Law looketh upon and puniſheth as *horrid, barbarous*, and *unnatural*. And ſince the *Doctor* hath *thus* appeared in the behalf of ſuch perſons, he muſt give me leave to tell him a ſtory. 'Tis reported that when *Caracalla* had murdered his brother *Geta* in his mothers arms, he practiſed with *Papinius* at that time a famous *Lawyer*, to defend or extenuate the *fratricide* before the *Senate*; of which foul *murder* the *Lawyer* refuſeth to undertake the *Patronage*, giving this reaſon, *That it was eaſier for a man to be a Paricide then to defend it*: and this with ſuch reſolution, as that it is ſaid that he loſt his life for his refuſal. Now I queſtion it, whether *Doctor Chambers* would in ſuch a caſe have been ſo backward as this unbelieving *Lawyer* was? I believe that he would not, my reaſon is this: He that ſhall (as the *Doctor* did) look upon a *ſons couſening, curſing, frequent beating of his Parents, after a barbarous manner throwing them down, laying hands upon them, taking of them by the throat, drawing his knife upon them, calling them old Rogue, and threatning to make an end of them*, as only ſome *ſmall differences*, or matters not much to be noted, or eaſily to be excuſed; may rationally be conceived to think it *no great* matter if he had actually *murdered* them. But the *Reader* muſt remember, that in thoſe dayes *Paricides* were very frequent, and in great credit; yea, and that then the *Doctor*, and his *Commiſſioners* acted

by a power which had murdered our *King, The common Father of us all*, and many of their *Brethren* beſide. Yea and farther yet ſince that preſent Government by which thoſe horrid Paricides were committed, was *that* which impowered theſe *Commiſſioners* and *Doctors* to act, and that a *ſtrict* enquiry was by *them* made, who were *diſaffected* to it? and a ſevere puniſhment *inflicted* on thoſe who were found diſaffected to it; we may ſafely ſay, that even *theſe men Commiſſioners* and *Doctors* did *approve* of thoſe wickedneſſes which the other had committed; and by *approving* of them, confeſs themſelves to be *ſome* of thoſe Paricides. The *bleſſed Reformation* being then ſo much *improved*, that the *breach* of the *firſt* Commandment was accounted *godlineſs*, but the *obſervation* of it *ſcandalous*.

Sect. 31. *William Sanders* informs that Mr. *Edward Long* of the *More*, and Mr. *Cannings* were then and there with me at the ſame time. Now this is the third time that this Mr. *Longs* name hath been mentioned to his diſrepute long after he was dead. Twice before by *William Pinchin*, and the third time by *William Sanders*; indeed I think I may ſafely ſay all theſe three times by *William Pinchin*, for that *Sanders* and *Cottle* were then at *Caln*, both *Catechized* by *William Pinchin* before they ſwore; who (as I have been told) wrote down ſomething which one of them never ſpake, and yet he hearing

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it was (since *William Pinchin* had written it down) content that it should go so; so that we may guess that these *swore* not according to their *knowledge*, but according to their *lesson*: *Obadiah Cheltenham*, and I think *John Travers* being at that time coadjutors with *William Pinchin* in the same business. This Gentleman Mr. *Long* was then dead, and so could say nothing for himself or me: yet thus much I am confident will be testified by men yet living, who knew him well, that for *four, nay five, nay six years* before this Deposition was taken, it was even impossible for Mr. *Long* to be such as this Deposition represents him, *a drinker to excess*: as I have said, he was buryed in *Decemb.* 1651. and for a long time before lay under a lingering and wasting Consumption, which at last brought him to his grave: and this was so visible to his friends, that in case he had been inclined to intemperance, yet they would have withheld him even for his healths sake. It is like enough I might meet him at that house, and like enough it is that I might make some stay there with him; and if they ask me why, I shall tell *the Commissioners and Doctors* that the *occasions* that drew me thither were far more *commendable*, and my *actings* there far more *Clerk-like* then theirs have been at several *Innes*, at several places and times, for a longer time together then is mentioned in *Sanders* Deposition. 'Tis too well known,

that there were at this time many unnatural differences betwixt this Mr. *Long*, his *Mother*, and *Brother*, which were heightned ſo far as to ſome *ſuits of Law*: that theſe differences cauſed a great *alienation* of affections betwixt them, ſo great that (although but *three*) the ſame houſe would not hold them; for the compoſure of which ſtrifes, there were many (and ſome perſons of quality) that travel'd much in it: and it was the pleaſure of ſome of them to take me along with them, as one who was well known to all the diſagreeing parties, and well thought of by them: in order to a compoſure I was ſometime with one party, ſometime with another, and ſometime in one place, and ſometime in another, and that for more hours together then are mentioned in the Depoſition. And that this was the buſineſs which drew me to *Rainalds* houſe at this time, and occaſioned me to ſtay ſo long there, and that I was not at all diſtempered with Beer, would have been Depoſed by Mr. *Canion* mentioned in the Depoſition, who was then and there all the time, and heard and ſaw all that had paſſed, but him (beſide many other very material witneſſes) they would not admit of.

Sect. 32. And I have now preſented thee with all the Depoſitions againſt me as I received them under their *Clerks* hand: and I make no queſtion but the Reader (remembring how ma-

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ny *Depoſitions* I have charged them with which they never took, how many *Depoſitions* were taken but never *entred*, and how many *Depoſitions* were *entred* by halfs) will take theſe for the greateſt & worſt which they had againſt me. To which, (beſide what I have already obſerved) I ſhall offer to thy conſideration ſome few things more. 1. Whereas there is mention made of my being at *Bailies* and *Rainalds* his Alehouſes, and of my drinking there, I ſhall tell thee, that I had both the *women* who keep theſe *houſes* (being both very antient and their husbands dead) before the *Commiſſioners*, who were there ſworn, but their *Depoſitions* in the *Clerks* copy very much contracted, and are only in theſe words.

1. Sarah Rainalds *who keeps the Alehouſe aforeſaid ſayes that Mr.* Buſhnell *ſeldom came to her houſe but in Pariſh buſineſs; nor hath he been there this half year, and the laſt time not to drink.*

2. Elizabeth Bailie *who kept the Alehouſe aforeſaid, being ſworn, ſaith, That Mr.* Buſhnell *never came to her houſe* (as ſhe remembers) *but upon Pariſh buſineſs for making rates or the like:* but ſaith, *that he hath not been there this two years paſt.*

This is every word which we have as depoſed by them, when as 'tis well known that

their Depoſitions were very much longer. I paſſe by that part of *Sarah Rainalds* Depoſition, where ſhe informs, that I was once there in company when the reckoning came to *two ſhillings*, and to Mr. *Byfield* who asked how many there were of us; anſwers that there were about ſixteen; and beſides they had *Tobacco*: which paſſage the *Clerk* noted, although he did not take it, and to Mr. *Byfield* who ſomewhat ſcrupled the *reckoning*, ſayes (looking up into Mr. *Byfields* face) that there were *ſixteen*, and that they had *Tobacco* too.

Sect. 33. But now the Queſtion which I deſired might be propoſed to them both was this, *Whether either of them ſaw me diſtempered with Beer at any time, or drinking to exceſs in their houſes?* Which Queſtion was propoſed to them both; and they *both* anſwered *No*. If there had been any ſuch thing, that I had drunk hard with Mr. *Long* or any other, they muſt needs know it; and had they known it, I am confident that they would not have forſworn themſelves to conceal it. I know not whether it were at this time againſt them, or at another time againſt *Thomas Brewer* that Mr. *Byfield* took exceptions to this purpoſe;

That they were parties being Alehouſe-keepers, and therefore not likely to ſpeak the truth, becauſe it might prove penal to themſelves for entertaining

tertaining any too long, or letting them drink too much.

Now to ſee the Diſpoſition of that *godly* man; he would not believe that any ſwear truly, but ſuch as ſwear as he would have them: *To do a miſchief.* With him no Witneſſes were *credible* but deſperate ones.

Nay, to ſee the abundant *charity* of that man! I preſume that he conceived *theſe women* to have ſome underſtanding of an Oath, otherwiſe he would not have admitted them to ſwear, and yet he ſticks not to imply that they would *perjure* themſelves to ſave their *five ſhillings* apiece. I had it not at that time in my head, but now let me mind them of one thing more, of which I have ſome confidence, and it is this. That had theſe *women* by virtue of thoſe Oaths which they had then taken, been demanded, Whether they had never ſeen *William Pinchin* drinking to *exceſſe* in their houſes? they muſt have anſwered that (although much againſt their wils, when they knew not how to be rid of him) he hath been *drinking*, and *ſmoking*, and *quarelling*, and *drivelling* ſo long, that he hath made himſelf worſe then a beaſt; yea and that (this would have been proved too) he hath there *diſgorged* himſelf, I ſay not into his *Hat*, but as ſeemly as one that uttered his minde, having overcharged himſelf with *Wine* and *Quince pie.*

Sect. 34. I had at this time, and before, ſeveral Witneſſes with me which I deſired might be examined upon ſuch Queries as ſhould have been propoſed unto them, but a word of exception againſt them from *William Pinchin* the *Solicitor*, and Mr. *Byfield* the *Advocate* ſoon ſilenced or put them all by; and thus they ſerved no leſſe then *four* at this time, ſome whereof would have told prety *ſtories* of *William Pinchin*, *John Travers*, *Obadiah Cheltenham*, *William Cottle*, *William Sanders*, yea perchance of the *Doctor* too, if they might have been heard; which doubtleſs *William Pinchin* foreſaw, and therefore was ſo forward to ſtop their mouths; Mr. *Byfield* and the reſt ever ſeconding him, having this pretence for what they did, That what thoſe who depoſed againſt me was *for the Common-wealth and preſent Government*, but that thoſe who would have depoſed for me, was *againſt the Common-wealth*, and againſt the *preſent Government*.

Mr. *Camon*
Will. Buſhnell, *Hen. Harru*, *Ric. Cottle.*

Sect. 35. But amongſt others, there appeared for me at this time *Henry Sheyler* before mentioned, whom *William Pinchin* ſtoutly oppoſed, alleadging, That he was a *drunkard*, and *that there had been two Baſtards laid to his charge*. To which the other as ſtoutly replies, That that charge might be falſe as well as true; but put him in minde of an *attempt of a Rape* made by this *William Pinchin* upon a Woman near *Briſtoll*,

Briſtol, when they two were in Armes in the *Kings Army*: and had he not been taken off, pretending this was nothing to the preſent buſineſs, he would have told the *Commiſſioners* ſuch a ſtory of their *witneſs* and *Solicitor William Pinchin*, naming the *time when*, the *place where*, the *manner how*, together with other *circumſtances*, ſo *filthy*, and much worſe then *beaſt-like*, that I remember not that I have in any Author, either ſacred or profane, met with a ſtory to match or parallel it, unleſs that *Lam.* 5. 11. come near it; but this was quaſht, and *Henry Sheyler* permitted to proceed, which he did in theſe words;

God dam me, I will——

That on Saturday on Whitſon *week laſt paſt, he went to enquire for* William Cottle *whoſe wife told this Deponent, that he had been three or four dayes running after* William Pinchin *to witneſs againſt Mr.* Buſhnel; *upon which* William Cottle *coming into the houſe told this Deponent, That* William Pinchin *promiſed him, that if he would ſwear that Mr.* Buſhnel *came drunk from* Corſham, *he would make him Pariſh-Clerk and Regiſter of* Box. *However if he were not ejected, he ſhould be Regiſter. And then ſaid farther, that if he ſhould ſwear it, he ſhould offend the Gentlemen, if not the Farmers. To which this Deponent by reply bid him ſpeak the truth; upon which the ſaid* Cottle

Cottle *affirmed, That he could not ſwear that he ever ſaw Mr.* Buſhnell *diſtempered with Beer: yet the ſaid* Cottle *then affirmed that he had now an opportunity to be even with Mr.* Buſhnell *for permitting* Col. Eyre *to ſend him to* Bridewell *for ſelling Ale without Licence.*

Sect. 36. Some few things I ſhall here offer to thy conſideration touching this Depoſition of *Henry Sheyler.*

1. That *William Cottles* wife told him that her husband had been three or four dayes running after *William Pinchin* to witneſs againſt Mr. *Buſhnell.* Now ſo much ſhe had ſaid before to *Anthony Balden*, and before her husbands face too; and thus much was teſtified upon Oath before the *Commiſſioners* ſitting at *Caln* by *Anthony Balden*; but it ſeems (according to the cuſtom) either never *entred*, or elſe *Index Expurgatorius* hath daſht it out.

2. *William Pinchin* offered to make him *Pariſh-Clerk* and *Regiſter*, &c. Now theſe were places which to mine own knowledge *William Cottle* greedily *thirſted* after, and made *great ſuit* for, but was rejected for both; we conceiving him to be very unfit to bear any office about the *Church*, who had been formerly thought unfit to ſerve ſo much as for a *Tithingman.* I muſt tell thee further that there was ſome ſuch *trade* driven likewiſe betwixt this

this *William Cottle* and *John Travers*. For *William Cottle* being ſummoned to appear before theſe *Commiſſioners* by this *John Travers* asks him, *Who ſhould pay him for his dayes work?* To whom *John Travers* replies;

> *That if Mr.* Buſhnell *were ejected, he would ſee that he who ſucceeded him ſhould pay him; but if Mr.* Buſhnell *were not ejected, that then he was likely to looſe it.*

A pretty bait for ſuch a fellow, and queſtionleſs enough to make him fetch *trip*, or (as *Obadiah Cheltenham* inſtructed him) to *ſwear out right*, for otherwiſe he was likely to loſe his preſent labour, and expected reward; and that this was diſcourſed betwixt *John Travers* and *William Cottle* was teſtified on Oath before the *Commiſſioners* now ſitting at *Marlborough* by *Mary Bayly*; but either not taken, or elſe *Index Expurgatorius* hath been here again. And here let me obſerve this unto thee, how that *William Pinchin* and *John Travers* have their varieties of *baits* and *flies* ſutable to the appetites of their *fiſh*. (We know that *Cataline* had ſuch heretofore; yea Mr. *Chambers* the *chief Prieſts* and *Elders* made uſe of the like, *Matth.* 26. 61. compared with *Luke* 23 2.) *Nowel* they knew longed to have his

Saluſt bell. Catal. p. 9. 15. mihi.

his *Bond* up that he might ſell *Ale* again, and therefore they promiſe him,

That if he will appear and ſwear, that ſhall be taken up.

VVilliam Cottle ſore longed for theſe offices, and therefore *VVilliam Pinchin* baits for him with theſe promiſes;

That if he would ſwear that Mr. Buſhnell *came drunk from* Corſham, *he would make him Pariſh Clerk and Regiſter.*

Sect. 37. It hath been obſerved that there are *four* things eſpecially which cauſe *falſe* accuſations, *Malice*, *Obſequiouſneſs*, *Coverture*, and *Covetouſneſs*; we have no leſſe then all theſe diſcovered in this *VVilliam Cottle* here.

1. *Covetouſneſs.* The Regiſters and Clerks place, together with five pound beſide, were promiſed him as his reward; and he muſt ſwear that *I came drunk from* Corſham, that he might obtain it.

2. *Obſequiouſneſs.* He ſeems little to regard it whether he ſwore *truth* or *falſhood*; but whether he ſhould pleaſe or diſpleaſe. *If he ſhould ſwear it, he ſhould offend the Gentlemen, if not the Farmers.*

3. *Malice,*

3. *Malice*, and indeed *leavened*, *ſtale* and *ſowred Malice*; and ſuch on which the *ſun* had gone down many an *hundred* time. *That he had now an opportunity to be even with me, for permitting Col.* Eyre, *to ſend him to* Bridewel *for ſelling Ale without Licence*, which happened about *Sept.* 1653.

4. *Coverture* (if it be not ſomewhat worſe) for he *falſly* chargeth me of his crimes, and he therefore *chargeth* me with them, becauſe I had laboured to *ſuppreſs* them in him, when as he was guilty of them; like the *Elders* in the *Apocryphal ſtory* of *Suſanna*; becauſe *I would not conſent or ſuffer him to practiſe profanations, and other diſorders, he chargeth me to have been a practiſer of ſuch.*

I am now willing to put an end to the *Tranſactions* of this day; only I ſhall tell thee before, that at this time it appeared that they had ſomewhat overſhot themſelves: (an uſual thing for ſuch *Polititians*) and that it was in ſome ſort long of themſelves that they had not their will of me ſo ſoon as they deſired. I have told thee already that Mr. *Byfield* had taken order formerly that we ſhould not in any wiſe have any copy of the Depoſitions, which at this time ſtood us in ſome ſtead, for the Doctor and he had then a *ſtrong party*, *Sect.* 38.

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(yea and if not a *Quorum*, yet a *major party*) for them. Their friends of *Marlborough*, and ſome one of *Sarum*, Mr. *Phelps*, were at their elbows, who no doubt had it in their thoughts to have made a quick diſpatch with me; but my *counſel* oppoſed their ſentence then, becauſe we having no copy of the *Depoſitions*, could not poſſibly give in any *anſwer* or *plead* to the charge. The *Evidences* were long, and could not readily be ſummoned up either by my *Counſel*, or by him which was for the *Common wealth*. This obſtructed them at that time, and for the preſent the buſineſs was *ſuſpended*.

Sect. 39. I heard the next morning, that my next appearing ſhould be at *Sarum* about the *Aſſize* time ſhortly then to follow; but ſoon after I had word brought me, that it ſhould be before that time and at *Lavington*: I underſtood likewiſe that Mr. *Byfield* was the cauſe of that alteration; for (having been for ſome time abſent, and at his return into the room underſtanding what had paſſed) the *man* began to be in ſome *paſſion*, and clapping his hand upon the Table, he *fiercely* tels them to this purpoſe, That if that *order ſtood* (the *order* made in his abſence) or *if I were not ejected*, he would ſit no more amongſt them. Whereupon (for as I have ſaid he had then a *major party*) that former order was reverſed before

before the Ink were dry; and I being called in, Mr. *Bliſſet* read a new Order to me to this purpoſe;

That my next appearing before them was to be at Lavington, July 14. *where I was to have my final judgement; that I was not to bring in any more witneſſes for my ſelf; but that they for the Common-wealth might bring in as they pleaſed.*

Whereupon for that time *I had my diſcharge*, but I looked upon my ſelf as *condemned*, and that this was only a *reprieve* from Execution for ſo many (that is about 12) dayes.

The

BRITISH MUSEUM

The Tranſactions *at my ſixth time of appearing before them*, July 14. & 15. *at the* Antelope *in* Lavington.

ALthough I looked on my ſelf as a *condemned* perſon, having now no *liberty* left me to ſpeak *for my ſelf*, nor *any beſide* to be heard in my behalf. But that *all that were or would* be againſt me, had not only a *liberty*, but a kind of *invitation* likewiſe to ſpeak their pleaſure of me, with approbation: and therefore might conceive that this *ſummons* was only that they might *undo* me with the *greater reproach*; every *ſon of Belial* being now incouraged to wound and inſult over me, now that my hands were bound, and my mouth ſtopt; yet to *Lavington* I repair: Excepting that ſome far *ſought* and *prepared youths* would have appeared and have ſworn up to the *ſuborners* inſtructions, and the *Commiſſioners deſires*. When *Lo*, there appear for the *Common-wealth* only *William Pinchin*, *Obadiah Chel-* *Sect.* 1.

tenham, *Nicholas Spenſer*, *William Cottle*, and one *Brewer*, I think his name be *John*, that lived then either in *Corſham* Pariſh, or at *Weaver-Mill*. Of theſe *William Pinchin*, and *Obadiah Cheltenham*, as formerly *ſolicite*, the buſineſs; and unleſs it were in order to that, or his *Sequeſtratorſhip*, or to hear his own commendations, I know not what it was which drew *Nicholas Spenſer* thither. But there were only *two* prepared to ſwear. This *Brewer* and *William Cottle*. But now as touching *Brewers* Depoſition, as I remember, that was never taken by the *Clerk*; but as *Brewer* ſpake, Mr. *Byfield* wrote down ſomething in his Note Book, but what I know not. A *ſtory* it was he told about an *Health* or *remembrance drank* in *Colonel Eyre* his houſe, and that *I was then preſent in the room, and he likewiſe as a ſervant to Colonel* Eyre, *but that I drank that health he could not depoſe:* Whereupon *Obadiah Cheltenham* (being belike diſpleaſed, becauſe he had ſworn ſo much ſhort of their expectation), addreſſes himſelf to the *Commiſſioners*, and tells them, that *he* (that is, *Brewer*) *had repreſented it otherwiſe unto them.* So that it ſeems, that they had the *Catechizing* of him before he came to ſwear; yea and poſſibly this might be done, when as they, that is, *William Pinchin*, *Obadiah Cheltenham*, *John Travers*, met ſomewhere at a kind of a feaſt, where (as I have heard) *Obadiah Cheltenham* being a *ſmall Clothier*, *William Pinchin* having *fulling Mills*, and *Brewer* being

ing a *fuller*; this *Brewer* had ſome promiſes that he ſhould be ſet on work by them. Another *bait* ſuitable to the *appetite* of their fiſh. But it ſeems that *Brewer* being at this time under another influence, had forgotten his leſſon, and ſpake not as they had taught him, but ſomewhat of the truth, and ſomewhat which was falſe: for he then and there reported upon Oath, *That at the time aforementioned he was then in Colonel* Eyres *houſe, and his ſervant*, of which falſhood he was then convicted by *Colonel Eyre* himſelf, at that time and place preſent, who *then affirmed* (which the other could not deny)

That this Brewer *had never been any ſervant of his; that he had not found him meat and drink, or paid him wages, which he ſhould be unwilling to ow to any ſervant.*

But it ſeems that the occaſion which drew *John Brewer* to *Colonel Eyres* houſe at this time, was this: it happened that this *Brewer* ran a hunting after their Hounds that day, and ſo afterwards thruſt himſelf into the houſe for a meals meat, and 'tis not unlikely, but that he might be ſo officious as to make himſelf a waiter until his turn came to dine. But now the Information which *Colonel Eyre* gave touching *Brewers* Depoſition, wherein he largely inſiſted on the *Company* there preſent, as likewiſe the *occaſion* on which that *diſcourſe*

began, as likewiſe the *time* and *place* where it began, and from *what it had its riſe*, as likewiſe what he would have informed touching our being at *Nowels houſe*, in order to his own *vindication* and *mine*, was at this time wholly *ſuppreſt*: becauſe contrary to that order which they had formerly made. *viz. That no witneſſes for me ſhould be admitted.* Yea, notwithſtanding one of the *Commiſſioners* then ſitting, Mr. *Michel* urged that *Colonel Eyre* ſhould be ſworn, and his Depoſition taken, yet the *Marlborough* and *Saram* men together, with Mr. *Byfield*, carryed it in the *Negative*, *becauſe contrary to their good order:* and the *Colonel* being put back, I had not any hopes that any beſide ſhould be ſo much as lookt upon.

Sect. 2. And touching this *Gentleman*, *Colonel Eyre*, let me here add ſomething; That as *Juſtice of Peace* he had proceeded againſt many of thoſe witneſſes which ſwore moſt deſperately againſt me, as *felonious* and *ſcandalous Maleſactors*; againſt *William Cottle*, by ſending him to *Bride-well* for ſelling Ale without Licenſe; againſt *William Sanders* by ſending him to Gaol about a robery; againſt *William Pinchin* in binding him to the good behaviour, and granting forth ſeveral Warrants againſt him, for beating his Father and Mother out of doors. I cannot ſay that he acted any thing againſt *Nowel*, unleſs it were in taking away his Licenſe: for (although *Nowel* hath been ſince proſecuted

for

for the *attempt of a rape, in an house*, and in the *night time*, and *he upon the out-cry of the party* (*as* I have heard) *making away, was yet discovered by the shoe of his Hurl foot, which he left behinde him*, yet) I cannot say, that *Colonel Eyre* bound him over for it. All which notwithstanding, all these men by *Colonel Eyre* thus proceeded against for *several infamies*, are by *Mr. Byfield*, the *Doctor*, and *their friends* at *Marlborough* encouraged to testifie against him to his reproach, and yet he not permitted to say any thing in his defence. I shall for the present observe thus much unto these *Commissioners* and *Doctors*, from a Topick drawn, *a Testibus ad Judices*. That such *Judges* have proceeded but with little *credit* or *justice*, that have countenanced *infamous* persons to be their *witnesses*: and that where *sons* of *Belial* are encouraged to testifie, there the *Judges* are usually such as the *Elders* were in *Jezreel*, or *the chief Priests and Elders were*, Matth. 26. 59, 60. 1 King. 21. 8, 9, 10.

William Cottle, as I have told thee, was now at *Lavington* likewise, but all that he had to say, was only this, *that he wou'd be deposed, That he had never spoken such words to* Henry Sheyler *as are mentioned in his Deposition:* But the man and his proffer were both rejected, and 'tis like enough for this reason; The *Commissioners* might look upon him already as a *perjured* person, and therefore might they well think *Sect.* 3.

that he would not ſtick to *forſwear* himſelf again to *excuſe* it, and as *Sanders* formerly endeavoured to countenance his *perjury* with a *lie*; ſo *William Cottle* minded to countenance his, with *another falſe Oath.* But this, as I have ſaid, the *Commiſſioners* did not admit; and yet they made uſe of his Teſtimony againſt me; yea, and ſo did the *Judges* in the caſe of *Naboth*, and the *chief Prieſts and Elders*, although they knew that their Teſtimonies were falſe, and that they themſelves had put thoſe falſe words into the witneſſes mouths.

Sect. 4. And now when I conſider, how *William Pinchin*, *Nicholas Spenſer*, and *Obadiah Cheltenham*, would have engaged *William Cottle* to ſwear again, I cannot but wonder and tremble, to think how far *wicked* men for baſe intereſts *will lead*, and how far a *wicked man* for the hopes of a ſmall reward will *follow*. This *June* 4. *William Cottle* (betwixt the time that he ſwore *July* 14. at *Caln*, and this time that he now appears at *Lavington*) was heard to wiſh, that *his tongue had been cut out of his mouth before he had ſworn againſt me*; yet now (being backt by his *Tutors*) he is ready with the ſame tongue to lay a heavier burden upon his ſoul. Having ſworn *falſely* before, he now appears to ſwear *falſely* again, *that he never ſaid ſo.* But mark the *ſequel*: and here I would have the Reader to *admire*, to *wonder*, to *tremble*, but not to *judge*. Shortly after this time *William Cottle* falls ſick,

ſick, his wife (as I have heard) hath reported it, that it began with a *burning in his lips*, proceeding thence to his *tongue*, inſomuch that he was *forced to keep water in his mouth to cool it, while he was at work*; one who was with him as a *Phyſitian* hath told me, that when he came to ſee him, he *found his tongue black, and ſwoln even out of his mouth*. In this ſad condition (ſending forth ſuch *groans* which were heard into the *ſtreet*) he continues certain dayes, and not long after dies. Now (conſidering that ſentence was paſt upon me, *Jul.* 23. and that *VVilliam Cottle* was buryed *Aug.* 18. next following, and that he *lay ſick* for ſeveral dayes before he died, and was not *buried* till ſome dayes after he was *dead*) I ſay, theſe things conſidered, there will remain but a very few dayes for him to *rejoyce* in my overthrow, or to *pleaſe* himſelf with the expectation of his reward. It muſt be confeſt, that *VVilliam Pinchin* was ſomewhat more *kind* unto him in his *ſickneſs*, then the *chief Prieſts and Elders* were to *Judas* in his *diſtreſs*; for (as 'tis reported) both *he* and his *Mother* viſit him often; but now whether or no it were to *incourage* him with hopes of recovery, or to *comfort* him with an aſſurance of his reward when he was recovered, or whether or no it were to *confirm* him in what he had ſaid and done, *fearing* that he ſhould *repent*, and tell the truth, I will not judge. 1656. Mat. 27 4.

Sect. 5. *Reader*, think not that I *insult* over this *carcass*, or in any *triumph* tell thee of his *sudden* and *sad fall*, or say that he was *thus smitten* for *this cause*. Only let me say thus much, that as we may trangress by being too *uncharitable* in such cases, so we may transgress by being *too stupid*. And I wish that all that shall read this story, may from this *Example* have a care to themselves, as with *reference* to their *several actings* and *relations*. If *suborners*, that they have a care how they *prepare* and *practise* with others. If *mercenary*, that they have a care how they are *practised with*: and if *Commissioners*, that they have a care whom they *countenance* and *give credit* to. And I wish that these *Commissioners* may be the *last* that *credit* or *countenance* such witnesses: That *Obadiah Cheltenham*, *William Pinchin*, *John Travers*, *Nicholas Spenser*, may be the *last* that *prepare* them: that *William Cottle* may may be the *last* that take such Oaths; and that I may be the *last* that *suffer* by them. And I further wish that these men, *W. P. O. C. J. T. N. S.* yea and the *Commissioners* and *Doctors* too, may *timely* and *sadly* consider of it; That if *William Cottles soul perish for this cause*, then they cannot but look upon themselves as *guilty* of his *damnation*. If *God* will will require the *blood* of men at their hands, who *seeing others in wicked wayes shall neglect to recal them*; certainly much more will he require it at their hands *who shall put them into wicked wayes, and*

incourage

incourage them them to go on. If he who *withholds not from Hell* be *accessary*, then *much more he that thrusts thitherward.* And here let me observe unto thee the portion which *divine Providence dispenseth* to such practitioners, that do, or say, or swear basely or falsely for reward or gain.

1. They are often disappointed of, and never receive that which hath been promised them, as *Cottle.*

2. In case they receive it, yet can they take no delight in the keeping of it; it was so with *Judas.*

3. That such a thing which they never dream't of befals them, which will never be wiped off, *Infamie.*

4. That that doth usually befall their families, which by these ungodly courses they labour'd to prevent. I have told thee already, that *John Travers* promised *William Cottle*, that if *I were ejected, he would see that he who succeeded me should pay him, if not, he was like to loose it*: but a *third* thing hath happened, which they never dream't of: and who shall pay him now? *Divine Providence* so ordering it that *I should be ejected*: that *William Cottle should live* to see it: that he *should die* before he could receive the reward of his *perjury*: that that hath befal his *family* which by this means he labour'd to prevent: and (if his soul miscarry for it) he is gone to such a Master for his wages which neither *he*, nor

the

the *ſuborners*, nor *the Commiſſioners*, nor their *Doctors* did then ſo much as dream of. I ſay that that hath befallen his family which by this means he laboured to prevent, Poverty. He left behind him many ſmall *children*, and a *wife*, who was with the *Overſeers* to ingage for her houſe-rent (notwithſtanding her late *husbands father* were her Landlord) before I was thruſt from the place. I have been told ſince, that this *William Cottles widow* (belike conceiving herſelf to be her husbands *Adminiſtratrix*, and that all promiſes made to him to be due to her) hath been with ſome of *the ingagers* for *the portion promiſed her husband*; which it ſeems was *five pounds*, beſides the *Clerks* and *Regiſters* place; but that *ſhe was yet put off, and adviſed to go to Mr.* Stearn *for it*, which hath made the woman to flie high, and to report it,

That had it not been for the Oaths which her husband took againſt me (which he took upon the incouragement of *W. P. J. T. O. C. N. S.*) *ſhe believes that her husband had been alive to this hour.*

From which it is cleer enough that ſhe *believes* that *her husband had ſworn falſly*; and that he was thus taken off *becauſe he had ſworn falſly*; and that he had *ſworn falſly upon their inſtigation.*

Although

Although they had no other *witnesses* against me but only *Gottle* and *Brewer*: yet I must tell thee, that at this time Mr. *Long* the *intruder* of *Bath*, by his *Letter* gave me an *Alarum* in the *rere*. To the best of my memory his Letter was to this purpose. *Sect.* 6.

1. *That I had, without his leave, preacht at the funeral of Mris.* Jane Rosewel *at* James *his Church in* Bath.

2. *That at her grave I used these words; For as much as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great goodness, &c.*

3. *That I was not well reported of by the godly.*

And here I shall offer to thy consideration: *Sect.* 7.

1. Something touching the *contents of the Letter*: And

2. Something touching the *conditions of the man*, which he hath expreft by his several Actings.

As to the first branch in his Letter;

That I had preached at James *Church in* Bath, *&c. without his leave,*

I answer,

I anſwer, That true it is, that I then and there Preached, and was thereunto invited by Mr. *Richard Maſters* her ſon; but I told him (before I promiſed him to do that laſt office for his *Mother*) that I would not undertake it, unleſs he would firſt undertake that I might preach there without any obſtruction or diſturbance, of which he aſſured me, and told me he would make that his buſineſs. Upon this promiſe I repaired to *Bath* (for the former diſcourſe was at my houſe at *Box*, whither Mr. *Maſters* came on *Monday* before the Funeral) on the *Friday* next after her deceaſe, the day appointed for her interment; and coming with the *Corps* to the foremention'd Church, I finde Mr. *Long* in the *Miniſters Pew*; who then entertained me with this complement, ſaying, *I was welcome.* Yea and ſometime after this Solemnity, he comes to ſome of my friends, and *enquires of my welfare, with thanks for my pains, deſiring to be recommended to me, as alſo of my acquaintance.* Now how ſutable this is to his Letter let the Reader judge: nor heard I of one word of his *diſtaſt* untill the time that I was *Articled* againſt before theſe *Commiſſioners*, which was about 18 *months* after. Tell me (*you Commiſſioners*) *how many times had the Sun gone down upon his wrath in the mean time?* and if they will needs have him *godly* for all this, I ſhall tell them that they ſeem to deal with Mr.

Long

Long as the *Poets* have done by their Goddeſſe *Juno*, whoſe deity they would *aſſert*, and yet they would not deny but that ſhe was of a moſt *laſting malice*, and of a moſt *revengeful diſpoſition*.

Diſtuleratq; graves in idonea tempora pœnas.

As touching the ſecond branch of his Letter;

That I uſed at the Grave theſe words, Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed Almighty God of his great goodneſs to take unto himſelf the ſoul of our Siſter, &c.

I anſwer, That it is like enough that I might uſe theſe words, or words *equivalent*. I ever took her to be a woman who ever *lived* and *dyed* in the fear of God, and therefore in Chriſtian Charity was bound to believe that *God* whom in *her life* time ſhe had ſerved, would at her *death* (of his *gracious mercy*) take *her ſoul unto himſelf*. But now were I to ſpeak at the Grave of Mr. *Long*, (he continuing to the laſt ſuch as he hath been) tis like enough I may ſay of him only this, *That God of his moſt wiſe and unſearchable providence had taken him out of the world.*

And

And then as touching the third Branch:

That I was not well reported of by the Godly.

I would fain know who thoſe *godly men* are which he means, and where they live? Doth he mean at *Bath?* I hereby aſſure thee, that (be my converſation what it will, yet) any there deſerving that denomination, *godly*, could hardly ſpeak *evill* of me, *becauſe I was then unknown to them*; or does he by *godly* mean *William Pinchin, O. C. W. C. J. T. W. S. N. S?* of their virtues and other *godly* qualifications you have heard ſomewhat already, and more you ſhall hear anon: or does he by *godly* mean himſelf? This indeed is ſomething like the reſt; for I aſſure thee, that (excepting that time wherein *he*, together with one *Bony* a Barber, his Brother in law, then living in *Bath*, came to my houſe at *Box*, to *ſearch for the age of their wives in the Regiſter there*) I remember not that I ever exchanged ſix words of diſcourſe with him: and therefore he (if *godly* according to the true notion of the word) could not ſpeak evill of me, becauſe he had ſo ſmall acquaintance with me. It muſt not be forgotten that Mr. *Byfield* preſents this Letter to them with this recommendation of Mr. *Long*;

That

That it was written, and came from the Godly Minister of Bath.

Now to give thee my thoughts, I have a conjecture that Mr. *Byfield* and he did *act by confederacy*, *Mulus mulum*, that they tossed good words to and fro betwixt them, that they did mutually give and take, and gratifie one another with specious compellations: *Godly me, and I will Godly thee*: and that therefore they did give such words that they might receive the like. And thus did the *Scribes*, *Pharisees* and *Lawyers* heretofore (they loved to act according to, and follow the best examples) who seemed to hold their *reputation* as it were in *common*, and took a reproch done to one, as a reproch done to all, *Master in thus saying thou reprochest us also*: but I doubt that as it was with *those* heretofore in point of *holiness* and *righteousness*, so it was with *these* now in point of *Godliness*; That they *understand* and *practise* it much alike. Luke 11. 44, 45. *Vid. Gret. in locum.*

But to return to Mr. *Long*, I have told thee that we were to others *meer strangers*, and although living near, yet it was in *several Counties*; I never troubled my self about him or his business; and he now to appear against me in his Letters? from whence proceeded this? from *piety*, or *prudence*, or any principle that is rational or religious? certainly from neither. *Sect.* 8.

1. Not

1. Not from *Prudence*. What? a *Minister* (if he be such) against a *Minister*, and at such a time as *this?* when we had almost all beside against us, for we to be at it amongst our selves? It may be rationally conjectured that in *Noahs Ark* the *Sheep* and the *Wolf*, the *Lion* and the *Goat*, the *Hawke* and the *Dove* had no hatred unto, nor fear of each other; the imminent and dreadful danger which they were all in, made them for that time to *lay aside their antipathy*: and then for Mr. *Long* at such a time as this, and in such a manner as this, and upon the sollicitation of such men as these who brought his Letter; to appear against me! and to ingage against) me in the behalf of *such* who would crie *Aba*, so would we have it, at the ruin of us all! and Mr. *Long* let me tell you, that I have this conceit with me, that these very men who importuned you thus to appear against me, would to serve their turns, if occasion were offered, be as ready to practise with me to write against you.

Sect. 9. No *Prudence* then in *Mr. Longs* actings. No nor

2. Any *Piety* neither. There were indeed heretofore a sort of people who pretended to *Godliness*, and yet amongst other vile affections were *false accusers*; these indeed might have the *form*, or *outside*, or *resemblance* of *Godliness*,

2 Tim. 3. 3.

lives, but in their converſations they denyed the power thereof; and therefore were they the more *nurious*, becauſe they *intituled Religion* to it, and converted their *malicious actings* with ſo good a name, *Godly*. I would have Mr. *Long* obſerve it (if he underſtand the *Original*) that the word which we Engliſh *falſe accuſers*, or as it is in the margin, *Make-bates*, is διάβολοι, 1 Tim. 3. the ſame word being Engliſhed *Slanderers*, and 11. both theſe, *the falſe Accuſer*, and the *Slanderer*, called by the *Devils* name, becauſe they reſemble him in their actings. Now to bring down this to Mr. *Long*;

1. I believe he will not deny it, but that his Letter was intended by himſelf as an *accuſation* againſt me.

2. And I have already proved it that this *accuſation*, as to him, muſt needs be falſe, becauſe he knew me not.

And then 3. he appearing by his Letter againſt me in *ſuch a conjuncture of time, place, perſons, and after ſuch a manner*; I cannot conceive otherwiſe but that it was with ſome *ſpiteful malitious deſign* againſt me. And therefore Mr. *Long* muſt give me leave to tell him, that I think I do him no wrong, if I report him for διάβολος, a *Slanderer*, as the word is rendered 1 Tim. 3. 11. and for διάβολος, a *falſe Accuſer*, as the word is rendered, 2 Tim. 3. 3.

Sect. 10. And if Mr. *Long* will needs be *Godly* for all this, yet I muſt tell him that his *Godlineſs* is of a much differing kind from the *primitive Godlineſs*, and the *concomitants* thereof. Then was
1 Tim. 6. 11. *Godlineſs* accompanied with *righteouſneſs, faith, love, patience, meekneſs*: So far from *offering wrong* to any, that it was *deſirous to do them all good*; ſo far from *hatred to any*, as that it *wrought charity towards all*; and ſo far from *ſeverity*, or *rigidneſſe*, as that it made men moſt *moderate* towards *offenders*. Hence that of the *Apoſtle*, *If any man be overGal. 6. 1. taken in a fault, ye which are ſpiritual reſtore ſuch a one in the ſpirit of meekneſs*. It is obſerved by many *Interpreters* that the word which is engliſhed *Reſtore*, properly ſignifies *to put in joynt any bone of the body which is broken, or out of its place*. If then the *ſpiritual* man (the *Miniſters of the Church*) were to *ſet in joint* members that were *diſlocated*, then certainly in no wiſe to *break them* when they were *whole*; and if to ſet and reſtore them in the ſpirit of *meekneſſe*, then certainly in no wiſe to break them in the ſpirit of *backbiting* and *ſlandering*. No fruits of *Godlineſs* theſe, Mr. *Long*. Nay more, to come to him neerer, and upon the ſcore of
2 Cor. 3. 1. writing *Letters*. The *Apoſtle*, although he ſayes he needs them not, yet ſeems to intimate that it was then a cuſtom for *Chriſtians*, eſpecially *Miniſters*, to grant to others according to their ſeveral

several occasions, *their Letters of recommendation*; thereby to procure to those that travailed good acceptance, and entertainment with those Christians to whom they were to go, being upon their own account, utterly unacquainted with them. But now that a man should upon no grounds *write* against a *Minister*, and so write *against him* as one of whom the *Godly* could not give one good word! Certainly if this proceeded from *Godliness*, thenit must be from such a *Godliness* which the *Primitive Christians* looked on with *detestation*; from such a *Godliness* as was that of the *Chief Priests* and *Elders*, *Scribes* and *Pharisees*; not from such a *Godliness* as was that of the *Apostles* and *Brethren*; for such a *Godliness* which hath its rise from *Hell*, and not from *Heaven*. The *Jews*, Act. 28. 21.
although they hated *Paul* to the death, and sought for his life often, yet it seems that they wrote *no Letters against him to their Brethren* at Rome. *Malicious* although they were, yet their malice seems to be *terminated* and *limited* to the parts near adjacent: but Mr. *Long* hath been more active, and his influence more *diffusive*, for——

I am not the *only* man whom he hath sin- *Sect.* 11.
gled out to *shoot* at: but he seems to be of the disposition of *Ishmael*, his hand is against every Gen. 16.
man; and although I could say *much* of him 12.
in this particular, I shall yet forbear it, because it is in the case of some other men; nor

ſhould I have ſo much as *touched* at it unleſs, it had been to give thee ſome *hint* of his Diſpoſitions: And all that I ſhall touch at is to tell thee of the *pains*, *travel*, *earneſtneſs*, *expence*, *hazard* and other unworthy courſes, which he hath practiſed againſt others as well as my ſelf; but he hath not found in *Sommerſet* men according to his expectation; No *Doctors* or *Marlborough men* there; the *Commiſſioners* there being Gentlemen *diſcreet* and *moderate*, who as I have heard, have (ſome of them) given him good *counſel*, yea and turned him off with *ſeveral rebukes*; and thoſe *ſuch* as, had they lighted on an *ingenuous*, *modeſt*, or *godly ſpirit*, would have been enough to confine him at home with *ſhame* and *ſilence*. Let others whom it concerns report his *carriage* and *actings* then; what *provocations* he uſed to *induce* ſome to *ſwear*, what *pains* he took to *ſummon in witneſſes*, what *poor* offices he undertooke in his own perſon, what *perſons* he uſes in the buſineſs, and what *names* he hath for them to advance the deſign; I ſay of theſe, and ſuch other like theſe, let others ſpeak whom it concerns; only let me mind thee of one thing which hath been much talked of in *Bath* and laughed at, it is this: Mr. *Long* having produced many witneſſes (which it ſeems in their Depoſitions did not ſwear up to his deſires) doth *further deſire that others then abſent might be ſummoned in and heard, giving theſe abſent men this Character*, that they were (*beſide many other good Epithets*)

Godly

godly men, and yet for his *Proto-Saint*, he names a man whom he doth no more take for *godly*, then he doth *me*, or I *him*. And here let me (for the close) observe one thing to Mr. *Long*, (for his *God-father Mr.* Byfield *who gave him that name godly*, *is since dead*) and that is this, That the *chief Priests and Elders*, *Scribes and Pharisees* had such a gift, that they could *change* their *countenance* too, and *speak differently* of the same persons, according-ly as they were *serviceable unto*, or *obstructive* of their *private*, *malicious*, and *hypocritical design*. *These people* were much *applauded*, *incouraged*, *countenanced*, *perswaded* and *moved* by the *chief Priests*, when it was to bring our *Blessed Saviour* to death: but when they went a thwart the design, the best words which they had for them then, are, *This people who knoweth not the Law, are cursed.* [Joh. 7. 49.]

But leave we Mr. *Long*, and return to the *Commissioners*, who (having now as many Witnesses and Papers as they thought would serve their turns, as likewise a supply of such other *Commissioners* which would do the business) imploy Mr. *Jonathan Hill* to sum up the Evidences against me; which he doth, but very briefly: his *Rhetorique* consisting especially in this; *Sect.* 1:

That he labour'd to aggravate my Crimes from the Crimes themselves, from Circumstances,

and from the quality of ſome perſons who appeared as witneſſes againſt me; and leſſening their contradictions, perjuries, and ſubornations, by an argument drawn from a conſideration had to the Common-wealth or preſent Government, whoſe witneſſes they were, and for whom they acted.

I cannot forget one thing which he inſiſted on in the *firſt head*, and that was touching the perſon of *Nicholas Spenſer*, intimating that much credit ought to be given to his teſtimony, becauſe he was *a grave, old Gentleman.* Touching his *gentility* and *gravity* I ſhall ſay nothing; only let me acquaint thee with this one thing concerning him: That this *Nicholas Spenſer profeſſeth a skill* in the recovery of ſuch who are *diſtracted*; and withall, that he doth ſometime practiſe upon *Pigs*, being alike diſtempered; now I know not what courſes he takes for the recovery of *men*; but I have been told that for *Hogs* he hath this *Receit*; That he cuts an Apple, or a piece of Cheeſe, and writes upon it *Sare, Nare, Fare*, and then by inverſion *Fare, Nare, Sare*, and ſo gives it the *Hog*; for which (as I have been told) he hath received money, or ſomething æquivalent. Now this muſt be either a *Charm* or a *Cheat*, both which are puniſhable by our *Municipal* Laws: *There is Mr.* Jonathan Hill's *grave old Gentleman.* I will not be peremptory neither that Mr. *Hill* ſaid much upon the ſe-

cond

cond head, nor indeed was it so much as was said and done many a time before by Mr. *Byfield* and his *Commissioners*; who countenanced and incouraged many undue, unjust, yea very vile and wicked practises, pretending that it was *for the Common-wealth* or *present Government*; in the mean time they discountenanced, suppreſt many just overtures and proceedings of ours, pretending that it *was against the Common-wealth, and present Government.*

Now I would fain know of these men what they mean by, or what this same *Common-wealth* was, whose interest must be promoted by such unworthy courses? Did they mean that *present Government* as it stood then established? This cannot be, because I have charged them with, and proved them guilty of the *breach* of that *Ordinance* set forth by that power, and according to which they were to act; and it may seem strange that a man should say, that he *acts for the Common-wealth*, and yet at the same time *violate* those laws which *the same Common-wealth hath made.* I think that I do them no wrong, if I should say, that by *Common-wealth* they meant some private interest or aim of their own, which yet must go under that Vizor, *Common-wealth*, that they may drive on the design with less suspicion. But I will for once suppose, that they meant as they said, and that their ut- *Sect.* 13.

moſt aim was the promotion of the good of the *Common-wealth*, taking *Common-wealth* in the beſt ſenſe: but then I ſhall add ſome few things to be conſidered of. As

1. That a good end is not to be promoted by evil means; *we may not do evil, that good may come of it*, in any caſe. I ſhall add;

2. As not in any caſe, ſo much leſs are we to do evil for the promotion of the Intereſt of the *Common-wealth*: of any temporal Ordination, *Dominions* and *Kingdoms* are (as of Gods eſpecial inſtitution, ſo) under his eſpecial care: *The powers that are, are ordained of God*; and as we are therefore to be ſubject to them, becauſe they are of his inſtitution: (Cæſar *is more ours*, *ſaith* Tertullian, *becauſe our God ſet him up*) ſo we may aſſure our ſelves, that their intereſts are to be promoted only by ſuch wayes and means which the *King* of *Kings* approves of; which we are aſſured are none but ſuch as are *lawful* and *juſt*. So that to fancy, that that which is ſo eſpecially from *God*, muſt be ſupported or advanced by ſuch wayes and courſes which *God* hath expreſſed himſelf that he doth abhor, is upon the matter, to ſay, that our great *God* wants the *Devils* help to ſupport his own inſtitution: or that *his* Government could not be eſtabliſhed unleſs the *Prince of darkneſs* did afford ſome contribution towards it. Mr. *Byfield* had an

Apol.

Hebrew

Hebrew name, and therefore possibly he might understand the meaning of those words, *Perez Uzzah*; and thence he might learn that *God* takes it much amiss from them, because they put forth their hands *presumptuously* and *inconsiderately* to uphold the *Ark*, although shaken: much more would he have taken it amiss, if they had in contempt of his express command put forth *wicked* hands to uphold it. I remember, that when Captain *Bysshop* endeavoured to extenuate, if not to justifie *Faulconers* perjury, in the case of the Lord *Crewes*, by recounting the services which *Faulconer* had done for the *Common-wealth*, and adding that *Faulconer was one by whom the Common-wealth sate safe, at that hour*; The learned Council replyed on him thus; *It is God that we sit safe by, and not by him.* Perjuries are not proper means either to advance or strengthen a *Common-wealth*. I shall say no more in so clear a case, but only in the words of *Job*, *Will you speak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him.* And now I shall add 2 Sam. 6. 8. 13. 7.

3. That whosoever shall go about, either in pretence, or otherwise, to advance the Interest of a *Common wealth* by unlawful or wicked courses, is the greatest enemy unto it. *The Throne is established by righteousness*, therefore *destroyed* and *over-thrown* by *injustice*. And the former part of the verse, *It is Abomination*, &c. seems to intimate that not only *Piety*, Prov. 16. 12.

but

but even *Prudence*, should engage such who medled in *Common-wealths*, to the observance of Equity and Justice, because wickedness is so destructive to them. Be it then either the *Supreme* that commands unjust things, or *inferior Commissioners* that put unjust commands into execution, yet of them all, it may be easily proved, that there are none that are such *Malignants* to their Government, as are *they themselves*. Excepting himself and his vertuous *Jezabel*, I know not of any that did contribute more to the ruine of *Ahab* and his house, then did those *obsequious Elders and Nobles of* Jezreel, *and their sons of* Belial. 'Tis like enough, that the *State Politique* may *deride* both the *Priest* and his *doctrine*; and it is like enough that *Ahab* (before he fell at *Ramoth Gilead*) would have derided, or done worse to any man who should have said as much to him. But I would have the *State Politiques* to tell me, what opinion they think that *Ahab* hath of it now? who were the greatest enemies to him and his house? who were they that brought his *family* to a *sudden ruine*, and a *fearful one?* could we hear him from the dead, he must needs answer, that *he himself* and *his friends* undid him, and that nothing did so much strengthen his Enemies against him, as his own and his Favorites injustice.

Yea

Yea, and possibly (you *Marlborough men*) some one whom you lately knew, *your polished staff* had not been so suddenly taken away, and his Posterity, *your Plant of Renown*, laid aside so soon, so as scarcely to be spoken of, but in *pity* or *contempt*, unless such *Officious Commissioners* as your selves, had executed his *Ordinances* with far greater *injustice* then ever he *made them*. You might and did say, That it was for *the Common-wealth*, *for the present Government*, and possibly you had thoughts thereby to have established, and perpetuated that Establishment both for *him*, *his*, and your *selves*. And now lo, as to them *their honor is in the dust*, and as for your selves, you live the scorn of others as well as those whom you have injured: yea, and possibly in a very short time you may be in a worse condition then those whom you have thrust out of doors. Sect. 14. See the *Wiltshire Addres* of *Octob.* 20. 1658. promoted by Mr. *Byfield* and his friends at *Marlborough*, *Isaac Burges*, *Tho. Bayly*, *wil. Blisset*, *William Gough*, *Nich. Profit*, *Thomas Hunt*, *Will. Hughes*, *John Keyns*, and to be communicated to Mr. *Spinage*, Mr. *Barcroft*, and other *godly Ministers*, to Mr. *White*, and Mr. *Eatwell* of the *Lavingtons*.

But to return to the Transactions at *Lavington* at this time: After that Mr. *Hill* for the *Common-wealth*, had summ'd up the Evidence against me, and my *Counsel* on my behalf had pleaded to the charge, we were all commanded to withdraw, that the *Commissioners* might debate the business among themselves. Sect. 15.

ſelves. There were at this time many of them, and indeed a greater number then I had ſeen at any time before, *viz.* Mr. *Thiſtlethwait*, Mr. *Michel*, Mr. *Shute*, Mr. *Middlecot*, Mr. *Ludloe* of *Claringdon*, Mr. *Hely* of *Sarum*, and the three *Marlborough* men whom Mr. *Byfield* had call'd upon that morning at *Marlborough*, and brought them along with him. Now thoſe that know that Countrey, can tell that *Marlborough* lieth not neer the direct way from *Collingborn* to *Lavington*, and yet Mr. *Byfield* taketh it in his way thither; to give us to know, That malicious men will not ſpare for any pains; nor are they ever out of the way, ſo they may compaſs their miſchievous ends. I was told likewiſe, that Mr. *Byfield* on the way from *Marlborough* to *Lavington* was like to have had ſome miſchance, he falling from his Horſe, or his Horſe falling with him; I believe, that if any ſuch miſhap had befaln me, he would have made it matter of charge: That either the *Horſe* or his *Rider* had drank to *exceſs*. Theſe *Marlborough men*, I ſay, he brought along with him; and, I doubt not but that he had ſent to ſome in, and neer *Sarum* to meet him there: for ſuch now appeared which never ſate in my buſineſs before, nor did they ever hear Depoſition of any witneſs whith was taken by the *Clerk*, and yet they voted againſt me: of which more hereafter. And indeed the meeting of moſt of the *Commiſſioners* at this time in this place was deſign in Mr. *Byfield*

field, for he therefore reverſed that order which they had made for my appearance at *Sarum*, becauſe he doubted (as he was heard to ſay) *That I ſhould make ſuch friends there as to come off*; which to prevent, he both ſtraitens me in in time, changeth the place, and provides himſelf of ſuch *Executioners*, that (right or wrong) ſhould cut my Throat in private.

And now when the buſineſs came to be debated, had you ſeen how Mr. *Byfield* beſtir'd himſelf, what weight he laid upon every Depoſition againſt me; what *Rhetorique* he uſed to improve them; what *Salvo's*, and *lenitives* he finds for the *perjuries*, *ſubornations*, *contradictions*, and other vile practiſes of thoſe witneſſes which appeared againſt me; what applications and perſwaſions he makes to ſome whom he looked not for there; I ſay, had you ſeen or heard this, you might have been apt to think, that Mr. *Byfield* had taken more pains in framing this Declamation, then in compoſing many a Sermon. And yet as zealous, and eager as he was, he could not forbear (no not for that time) his beloved *Tobacco*; that muſt be remembred, although he makes many a *Parentheſis* in the taking off his *Pipe*. I have yet by me the copy of a ſpeech, which goes by the name of a *Speech* of Sir *Walter Raleighs*, ſpoken by him upon the Scaffold *Sect.* 16.

Scaffold a little before *his death*; Wherein (amongst other passages) he expresseth himself thus. *There is one thing above all that doth most afflict me, and that is a most false and scandalous report that hath much blemished my reputation and honor; How that when that Noble and worthy Earl of* Essex *left this world, that I stood in a window drinking Tobacco, laughing and making merry at his downfal.* Although I compare not my self to the Earl of *Essex*, nor Mr. *Byfield* to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, yet let me observe thus much upon his words: That if it had been *dishonorable* and *scandalous* for him thus to do, being but a *spectator*; then it would have been much more *dishonorable* and *scandalous* for him thus to have done if he had been a *Commissioner*, or an *Informer* against him. 'Tis true indeed, my *life* was not then in question, but yet my *livelyhood*, my *reputation*, the *exercise of my profession* (which a man ought to prefer before his *life*) were; and then for Mr. *Byfield* (as 'tis said then a *Minister*) to be eructing out of his mischief in smoak against a *Minister* in such a conjuncture of time, was a carriage so misbeseeming, and such a scandal, as that I believe, none that they ever turned out were proved guilty of.

Sect. 17. One thing more must I acquaint thee with, which happened while we were at *Lavington*; upon my coming to *Town*, and bringing Colonel *Eyre*, and some others along with me

me of good quality as witneſſes, (which as I have told thee, were all turned back by vertue of Mr. *Byfields* order,) I was told that *one* neer related to the perſons and practiſes of theſe *Commiſſioners*, ſhould ſay to this purpoſe, ſeeing us come in, *That* Mr. Buſhnell *had brought ſuch and ſuch along with him, but that it was to no purpoſe: for he could not ſtay at* Box, *becauſe that place was appointed for another man.* And now to ſee how *murder* will out, we have now the reaſon why they countenanced ſo many *infamous perjur'd ſubornes* againſt me, and that was this, becauſe I had a conſiderable Living to loſe; that they had appointed it for another man; and (as I ſhall tell thee by and by) made their advantages by turning me out, and bringing another in. I remember that *Plutarch* tells us of one *Quintus Aurelius*, who in *Sylla's* time was proſcribed and doomed to death, only for this, that he had a *fair houſe* at *Alba*. And let me add a little farther; That to thruſt out the Incumbent, right or wrong, was not the only piece of injuſtice theſe *Commiſſioners* and their then *correſponding friends at London* have practiſed; for beſide the Ejectment of the *Clerk*, they had an Art to defeat the *Patron* of his preſentation. And without doubt this hath made many a man *ſcandalous*, That theſe *Commiſſioners* had a reſolution to diſpoſe of, or to be gainers by

Hugh Peters, Phil. Nye, &c.

by the disposal of their Livings. Let *Patrons* speak for themselves: as to mine one particular I shall say only this:

1. *That by their own Confession, my place was appointed for another man.* Which

2. *I believe was the man who hath since my ejectment held it*, *Mr.* Sterne; who lived formerly in a Living *Sequestred* of Mr. *Walkers* at *Chilmark*, and it may be was there as a kind of a *Curate* to Mr. *Sangar*, Dr. *Chambers* brother in law. But at this time was destitute, and therefore right or wrong, a place must be provided for him elsewhere. But yet

3. These men, as *godly* as they are, love dearly to be fingering money. Mr. *Stern* hath said, that Mr. *Blisset had twenty pound of him*, (I believe half the money would have made Mr. *Blisset* my friend) which in all probability he had an eye to of a long time, and therefore his utmost power must be improved for the thrusting me out; otherwise he had lost his expected gratuity which he was to receive for bringing the other in. *Twenty pound sterling; that was a good Circumstance indeed Mr.* Blisset.

Mr. *Stern* confessed the same to me and another, *June* 3. 1660. at the *Saracens head* in *Friday-street*, *London*.

But

But to put an end to the *Transactions* of this day: after a very long debate: (for Mr. *Byfield* and his *Commissioners* met with more obstruction in the business then they dream't of) I was discharged from *Lavington*, having no more said to me then but only this; *That I was to appear before them again at* Sarum, *at the Assize time then shortly to follow; and there to undergo their Examination touching my sufficiency.* Sect. 18.

The Tranſactions *at my ſeventh time of appearing before them, at the* Three Swans *in* Sarum, July 23.

AND having been ſo many times before them, and waiting ſo long before I could be heard, I had in the mean time the leaſure and the opportunity to ſee and obſerve other *Miniſters* who were there beſides my ſelf: and I made my ſelf curious to enquire *who* and *what* they were, and *what* the buſineſs might be which drew them thither. And was anſwered that ſome of them were related to ſome of the *Commiſſioners*, as *brothers*, *kinſmen* *ſons in Law*; and that *their* buſineſs thither might be either to *tender* their humble reſpects to them (Mr. *Byfield* and the *Doctor eſpecially* looked to be honoured) or elſe in order to ſome *augmentation*, or *change*. That others there preſent I was told *wanted livings*, and that they repaired thither (as *Vultures* follow Armies) expecting ſhortly ſome *execution*, that they might *Sect.* 1.

be in a readineſs to ſeize, and feed upon the prey. Both theſe I looked upon as *Volunteers*, and that it was matter of *advantage* that brought them thither; but now there were *others* there who appeared as *Preſt-men*, and were forced in upon *ſummons*, amongſt whom I reckoned my ſelf; and therefore I made my ſelf the more *inquiſitive* touching them, conceiving their condition to be as mine. Touching ſome of which, I was told, that there were *heavy Articles* in charge againſt them, and many *proofs* of thoſe Articles, but that the carriage of *ſome body* was ſo *humble*, and a *Speech* which *ſome body* made ſo *winning*, that he was diſcharged untill further order: but ſince I have heard that *ſome body* hath furniſhed one of the *Marlborough* Commiſſioners with a *Horſe*, yea and that *ſome body* hath preſented him with a *parcel of Hay ſince that*, ſo that it may be that the *Horſe* or the *Hay*, made the Speech, and not the *Maſter*. *Theſe are but Circumſtances* Mr. *Bliſſet*. Againſt ſome others I was told, that there were *Articles* too, but yet that they would come off, becauſe there was *money advanced yearly*, for the relief of *Marlborough*. Againſt others I was told, that there were *Articles* too, but yet there was but little danger in the buſineſs, becauſe the perſons ſo charged had been with Mr. *Byfield* and *bowed* before him, or were of the *Aſſociation*, or of ſome *Claſſes*. Now I hearing this, could not but conclude my ſelf a

man whom they had reſolved for ruine, becauſe I had practiced none of theſe wayes; for notwithſtanding one neer related unto me was told, *that to ſtand out in my juſtification* was not the way to get off, as alſo of another way which if I practiſed, might procure my diſcharge, or to ſome ſuch purpoſe; yet I was reſolved that neither *Horſe*, *Money* nor *Hay*, ſhould go for me. I being otherwiſe taught, *We muſt not do evill that good may come of it.* If I had deſerved ejectment, they ought not to have diſcharged me *for* a reward; if I had not deſerved it, they ought to have diſcharged me *without it.*

I was told likewiſe that there were heavy *exceptions* taken againſt me that I came not amongſt them, Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Byfield*, &c. and that I did not make *one* at their *meetings*. That I did not Aſſociate, but rather that I not only neglected but deſpiſed them, or to ſome ſuch purpoſe. And doubtleſſe (with the *Doctor* and Mr. *Byfield*) this was enough to make a man *Scandalous* in the higheſt degree. Give me leave therefore to tell thee the reaſons why I did not thruſt in my ſelf, and make one at their metings: for although there were no law which either injoyn'd or forbad them; and therefore ſuch meetings of themſelves (being not *ſimply* evill) might be matter of *indifferency*; yet unto me there ſeemed not an indifferency *ad utrumlibet*: but that (all things *Sect.* 2.

which I propoſed unto my ſelf rightly conſi dered) I conceived it better for me to forbear and to ſtay at home. For

1. I ſaw no great good which had come of them, or which in likelihood might come of them. And

2. Becauſe they had no *Commiſſion* ſo to do, and that the *times* were *touchie*, *hazardous*, *ſuſpicious*, I doubted what interpretation the *Civil power* might have put upon ſuch meetings. And

3. Becauſe the perſons who were the leading men among them were as *fierce* and *rigid* in their way, as are any (I believe) on this ſide or beyond *Twede*; neither did I know what matters they would propoſe; or how far the mannerie of them might be extended. It was ſince our memories that *one* loſt his *head*, and others were in pitiful *Caſe*, for meeting & acting ſome things againſt the then *preſent Government*. And whether or no the working heads of the times might not have ſtrained theſe meetings to ſome ſuch conſtruction, I know not. However the *pretences* might be ſpecious and fair, yet the *deſign* of ſome might be bad enough; and although ſome might appear there in their *ſimplicity*, yet others might have had ſome further *differing*, perchance *contrary* aime. And this we muſt have been ſure of, that the project of but *one* or *two*, if *diſreliſhed*, would have been accounted the *crime* of us all. In ſhort, I had heard ſo much of the diſpoſitions of ſome of them, that they could

could not hold, but that they must needs be medling in matters which they had nothing to do withal; all concernments both of *Church* and *State* must come through their fingers, although *directè*, they were wholly for *Sermons*, and *Directories*, yet *indirectè* for *Acts*, *Ordinances*, *Orders*, *Proclamations*, in which I will not say they were better versed; but sure I am, of these some of them made more use then they did of their *Bibles*. I should not have spoken of it, unless a *friend* of their own Mr. *March. Needham* had observed it, That the *Presbyterian Government* (if such as the *Kirkmen* would have it) is no good *friend* or *servant* to the *civil*; Nay, he affirms further, that the setling of the *Presbyterie* in their Mode, would erect a Power *Ecclesiastical* distinct from that of the *civil*: for (saith he) *It is a Maxim among all Presbyters, and we find it pleaded for at large in the Confession of Faith, set forth by the Assembly of Divines, That there ought to be a Jurisdiction in the Church, that is in their way of Discipline, distinct from the Civil.* Which Tenent of distinction (he adds) *must needs be the same in effect with that of the Church of* Romes *Supremacy; seeing those who plead now for a power without the Civil, will not be long ere they arrive to such an height of presumption, as to act above it, or against it in pursuance of their own designs: it will be impossible to keep such a Church in Discipline within its limits in any Common-wealth, which makes the same persons Civil Subjects and Ecclesiastical Superiors.* *Case Commonwealth. p. 2. pag. 70. mihi.*

periors. Of the like ſtrain may the Reader meet with much more in the ſame *Author*, againſt *whom* I believe they will take no exceptions, being one that hath deſerved ſo well from them, as that *he ingaged* in their *quarrel* ſo far as to *caſt down their great accuſer* Mr. John Goodwin.

Sect. 3. And it may be upon this very conceit might the *Doctor* and Mr. *Byfield* intrude ſo much, and act ſo fiercely as they did in matters of that *Cogniſance*, which they had nothing to do withall; for as I have ſaid elſewhere, by their *Ordinance*, the *Miniſters* had nothing to do but only to be *aſſiſtants* to the *Commiſſioners in matter of Examination touching ſufficiency*; yea, and as I have heard a *Lawyer* told Mr. *Byfield*, that by an *Act of Parliament*, made about the beginning of the *long Parliament*, *Clergymen were wholly excluded from having any hand in ſecular imployments.* All which notwithſtanding none take ſo much upon them in matter of ſcandal, as theſe two; it were no groundleſs or irrational conjecture to ſay, that thus they might do upon confidence of the *Preſbyterial power*, in whoſe *Chair* they might fancy themſelves to be, and that they were they that ought to have Dominion; yea and notwithſtanding they tell us that they hate *Popery* to the death; yet they may be pleaſed with, and practiſe according to the *Jeſuites, &c. In o dine ad ſpiritualia*, which could

—*Et concipit alhe ta mente.*

could they extend according to their desires they would leave but little for the *Secular Power* to take *cognisance* of: Mr. *Byfield* and the *Doctor*, they sitting at the stern, and directing the course, and the *Hackney Marlborough* men tugging at the Oar, and wafting them to their aims. *Those* for their *repute*, *honor*, *sway*, *these* for their *advantage* and *gain*: one sort loving to be obeyed and reverenced, and the other sort loving to be fed. These dangerous consequences I presume the present *Civil Power* will have so much providence as to foresee, and will have so much prudence as to prevent.

But to return to *Sarum*, being in Town, *July*, 22. the day before the Examination, I went to visit Mr. *Eyre* with whom I had formerly some acquaintance, his house being neer to the house where I lodged: with whom I had not been long, but looking through a window into a Court which leadeth into his house, I see *William Pinchin* and *Obadiah Cheltenham* making thitherward, whom Mr. *Eyre* meets at the door, and after some short stay with them he returns into the room again with a *letter* in his hand, which I conjecture he received from *W. P.* and *O. C.* and that it concerned my self; and this *Letter* possibly Mr. *Eyre* might have shewn me, had not *Mr. Byfield* the *Doctor*, and a *third* man whom after I understood to be Mr. *Strickland*, (somewhat *Sect.* 4.

you

you ſee wil bring Mr. *Strickland* under Mr. *Eyres* roof) came ſhortly after unto his houſe: whether it were *deſign* in them, or *accidental* to come ſo ſoon as the others were gone, I cannot ſay; which three, when I ſaw making towards the room; I withdrew into another, from which after ſome ſhort ſtay I returned back again to Mr. *Eyre*, who then told me (theſe three being gone) that Mr. *Byfield* had told him; *That the major part of the Commiſſioners were ſatisfied touching the matter of ſcandall proved againſt me*: as I remember I ſaid no more to him but this. And what make I here then? But theſe words of his brought ſomewhat to my mind, which I had read of Biſhop *Ridly*, who although he were ſent to *Oxford* to *Diſpute*, yet his *death* was reſolved on by *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, before he went from *London*, or had ever framed Argument. And now Mr. *Byfield* hath given me a Perſpective wherewithal a man might look into his *godly* Boſom; for it is now manifeſt, that this Examination was intended to no other end, but that by it I ſhould the more condemn my ſelf; for what ever I had ſaid, it would not have procured my diſcharge, becauſe I was *condemned before*; and if I had ſaid any thing to diſreliſh ſo *learned*, ſo *prudent*, ſo *pious*, ſo *juſt* a *Quorum*, as were the *Doctor*, Mr. *Byfield*, Mr. *Hughes*, and the *Marlborough* men, it ſhould have been improved to have made more againſt me: *Non intererat accidentium*

A. B. *Cranmer.* B. *Latimer.*

tium quid dicerent, was the old rule of law, and since we have been told, that there is no reply to be made after that sentence is past. *Mr. Byfields friends* must give me leave to tell them, that I have heretofore read of such as himself, and in this particular; and who should they be (Mr. *Byfield* loved to make use of rare men for his presidents) but the *Sanhedrim* at *Jerusalem*. (Reader, think not that I intend the *resemblance* to *hold*, save only in *this*, That Mr. *Byfield and his friends* were somewhat like the *chief Priests and Elders*) Who *Bradshaw* to the late King.

1. Sought for and encouraged *false witnesses*, against that blessed person whom they studied how to destroy; which witnesses falling short of their expectation, they

2. *Themselves* proceed to *Examine* him, *Ut ex ipsius ore aliquid elicerent quod ipsum oneret*, that they might intice something out of his own mouth to charge him withall. *Grot. in Mat. 26. 62.*

But come we to the *Examination*, which was the next day following, at the *three Swans*, where I appeared about two or three a clock in the afternoon, where I found Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Byfield*, Mr. *Hughes*, and the *three men of Marlborough*, beside many other *Commissioners* and some *Ministers*. There were then with me *Colonel Eyre*, *my Counsel* Mr *Carter*, and another a *Minister*, who were desirous to have heard the Examination; but could not be admitted *Sect.* 5.

admitted by any means, becauſe there was an Order made,

That none ſhould be in hearing but the Commiſſioners, and their ſubordinates.

I have a conjecture, that Mr. *Byfield* (if not the ſole Author, yet) was a main promoter of it, becauſe he was ſo zealous, that it ſhould be obſerv'd, and alſo gave ſome reaſons why it was made: for when ſome of the *Commiſſioners*, (I having expreſſed my ſelf, that it ſhould have been indifferent to me if the doors were thrown open, and that all that would might come in) urged that others might be admitted, Mr. *Byfield* inſiſts upon the *Order*, adding ſomething by way of a ſeeming reproof for their inconſtancy, *Nay if you will not ſtand to your Order Gentlemen*; and then gives the reaſons which moved them to make and to keep it, and that was,

That if all were admitted, then would the whole Countrey know what Queſtions they propoſed.

And what if they had heard or known them? were your *Queſtions* ſuch that you were *aſhamed* that they ſhould be known? or was it for fear the *Countrey* ſhould (hearing your Queſtions and my Anſwers) think better of me then you were willing? and have been apt to diſcharge me whom you were reſolved

to

to ruine? But it may be Mr. *Byfields* reaſon that *all ſhould be excluded*, was not that the Countrey might not know what Queſtions they propoſed, but that the Countrey might not take notice that Mr. *Byfield* propoſed no Queſtion at all; for I remember not that by way of queſtion he ſaid ſo much as a word to me. That tongue of his, which at former times ran upon ſpeed, ſo that nothing could ſtop it, ſeems now to be cripled, and to be downright lame. So that, were he living, we have now got a receit to cramp Mr. *Byfields* tongue, and is that to diſcourſe of matters of Religion.

This buſineſs of Examination held for a long time, nor will I give thee any account of it, becauſe I hear not that they ſay, that they *ejected* me for *inſufficiency*. Let them report of it what they pleaſe, yet will there lie this diſadvantage againſt them, *That there is not much likelihood that they ſhould report the truth, which took ſuch a courſe that the truth ſhould not be known.* But for the Readers ſatisfaction in this particular, I hereby let them know that I ſhall not *refuſe* any of *them* in any of the *Publique Schools* of either of the *Univerſities*; where I am ſure there will be no orders made to ſhut the Auditors out of doors; nor ſhall Mr. *Chambers* cry out againſt me for this as he doth againſt Mr. *Dell*, *Satis pro fiducia*, as is the man, ſuch is his confidence: for I aſſure *him*, that he cannot have a meaner opinion of me and my parts, then I *Sect.* 6.

have

have of my ſelf; but yet *mean* although they are, yet perchance not ſo *contemptible* in reſpect of theirs. I remember, *Homer*, although he account *Menelaus* to be too weak to encounter the *warlike Hector*, yet he makes him match enough to combate the *effeminate Paris*.

Sect. 7. After the buſineſs of Examination was ended, and I with-drawn, there comes to me into the chamber, where I was ſitting with *Colonel Eyre* and *my Counſel*, Mr. *Bliſſets* ſon the *Commiſſioners Clerk*, with advice to me that I ſhould *reſign*, *adding that then I might be capable of another place*, whether he came from his *Father* with his *word in ſeaſon*, I know not. I know not neither, whether he came in any way of *curteſie* with this advice; poſſibly he might by this, give me to know, that the ſame *hand* which had diſpoſed of my Living for another man, *might* upon the like conſideration diſpoſe of another mans Living for me. But this his advice of my reſignation, and the reaſons of it were rejected, with ſome contempt both on *Colonel Eyres* part and mine own; it being no other then ridiculous, that a man ſhould be *capable* of, and *thought fitting* for another place, and yet not fit to keep his own; and therefore, as I ſaid, this Propoſal was, either that they might make their advantages all manner of wayes by putting another into my place, and ſetling me elſewhere, or elſe that they might the more triumph in my ruine, becauſe

becauſe in thus doing I had contributed more to mine own ruine then they poſſibly could; having by a *Reſignation* made my ſelf utterly uncapable of returning to *Box*, as alſo of receiving any profit thence which might be allowed to ſuch as were *Ejected*.

Shortly after this, I was called in again to receive *my doom*, which was pronounced againſt me, by vertue of that Order which Mr. *Byfield*, and his *Marlborough* men had procured againſt me at *Lavington* about *twelve* dayes before, and had lain *dormant* by them ever ſince, as a truſty reſerve no doubt, which (if they could not deſtroy me any other way) ſhould not miſs to *knock* me down. I obſerved that while my ſentence was reading, Mr. *Chambers* had pull'd down his hat ſomewhat low on his face, but for the reſidue of his face which might be ſeen he looked *very big*, and poſſibly might ſay within himſelf, *That now he had taught me to bring a man of his merit upon the Stage, to make him the diſcourſe and laughter of the Countrey, for leaving* Claverton, *and going to* Pewſie. Mr. *Byfield* in the mean time was playing with a *Tobacco-pipe* between his fingers (although he forbore to ſmoke it for that ſhort ſpace, yet had he the *Pipe* in a readineſs, and was filling of it out of Mr. *Martins* Box before I left the room) and ſeemed to look merrily at it, which minded me of that Sect. 8.

Riſus

Riſus abeſt niſi quem viſi movere dolores.

No laughter there appears
Unleſs for others tears.

Sect. 9. And yet I aſſure the Reader that as to the main, Mr. *Byfield* was very much diſappointed in his Expectation; I have heard ſay, that his word was, *That if he could not bow, he will break them*; if he were not dead, I ſhould ſay it was a fitting Motto for an Inquiſitor; however I muſt tell his ſurviving friends, that as to mine own particular he was ſo far from hitting the *mark*, as that he hath miſſed the *Butt*: whoſoever ſhall light on theſe *ſheets*, and read them, will readily ſay, *Surely he hath not bowed me*, there being not a line in the whole, relating to himſelf, that reliſheth of begging; and for *breaking me*, I wiſh (ſo it might not be to their torment) theſe *quondam Commiſſioners* had ſeen how contentedly I lived without my means; how little I grieved for the loſs of it; how little I deſired the re-injoyment of it: Yea, let me tell you farther, that (although *ignorant* and *ſcandalous* you account me) I have often read *Pſal.* 37. and there I am taught (and I humbly thank him, *God* hath given me a heart to learn) not

Ver. 1. *to fret my ſelf becauſe of evil doers; nor becauſe of him who proſpereth in his way; becauſe of the man who bringeth wicked devices to paſs*: although

though I never *envied* your power, yet I *pitied* you for your managery thereof; and (for all your ſpiteful, vile unjuſt proceedings) I deſire to have no revengeful thoughts againſt you; nor had I in the *Publication* of this *Narrative* any aim to aſperſe you, but to vindicate my ſelf: Yea, and let me tell you further yet, that (although you had it not in your intentions) yet my *Ejectment* hath been ſome wayes *advantagious* unto me, and that in ſecuring me from ſeveral vexations, and a continuation of fears, doubts, charges, compliances, viſits and other inconveniencies, which had I continued at *Box*, I muſt have been expoſed unto, all while you continued in your *power*, and executed your *power* with ſo much *injuſtice*. And this whether I look on the *Commiſſioners* or mine *accuſers*.

1. For mine accuſers, the chiefeſt of theſe *Sect.* 10. was *William Pinchin*, of whoſe *perjuries*, *ſubordinations*, and other his vile and baſe practiſes I have ſpoken ſomewhat already, and more I ſhall ſay, when I give thee a ſhort view of his life; and yet this man muſt have been *humor'd* by me, and *humor'd* in his *baſeneſs*: Nay, not only humor'd, but *fed* too; I muſt not have dared but have *furniſhed* him, whenſoever he asked; and his poor indigent condition was ſuch, that he would have been alwayes *craving*; and if I had denyed him at firſt, or queſtioned him afterward, 'tis like the

fellow would have grown *surly*, and have ſtopt my mouth with the *Commiſſioners*, or threatned me with *Tho. Cox*, or his Mr. *Chambers*, or Mr. *Byfield*. I remember, that ſometime before I was queſtioned, this *William Pinchin* came to my houſe, to borrow ſome money of me, with which I did not at that time furniſh him; whether it were becauſe I then had it not, or whether it were becauſe his *mother* had formerly borrowed a *conſiderable* ſum of me, as *ſhe* ſaid *for him*, of which I was not then ſatisfied, no nor (what through their baſe ſharking ſhifts, and mine own eaſineſs) am I ever like to be, I now remember not; but as for me, he then went without it; but it ſeems he was then ſo neerly driven, that he borrowed what he could get from my *ſervant*. I have heard that he was highly diſpleaſed, that he went without it. And poſſibly took this courſe of *perjury* and *ſubornation*, to be revenged of me for it. Now under this preſſure I muſt alwayes have lain, nor would there have been any way to have kept him from *forſwearing* himſelf againſt me, but to have *lent him* what he had askt for, and never after to have *demanded* it of him. His mother *Jone* likewiſe would have been *ſneaking* after me, whoſe property is not only to forget curteſies, but to repay them with baſe uſage, in denyng what ſhe hath received, or by patching with thoſe to whom ſhe hath been beholding; ever beggarly, and ever baſe. I muſt

muſt likewiſe have made much of *John Traters*, as long as he lived, and *Obadiah Cheltenham*, they muſt have been *entertained* and *thanked*, yea, and *rewarded* for *frighting* me; and my benevolence ſhould have been ſpent at the next *Alehouſe*, they making themſelves *merry* at my *charges*, and laughing at my *fear*, which had *furniſhed* them to pay their reckoning.

Then for the *Commiſſioners* and their *appurtenances*. *Thomas Cox* doubtleſs would have viſited me often; and I muſt have been as neerly related to Mr. *Bliſſets* ſon as Mr. *Stern* was: and although *Marlborough* were too far to ſend *Hay*, yet doubtleſs ſomething would have been expected there, although leſs viſible, yet not leſs chargeable. I could have expected no more curteſie from them then they vouchſafed to others, and that was only a diſmiſſion *until further Order*. So that I could have looked upon my ſelf at *Box*, for no better then their *Tenant* at will, and that their favour towards me, would have been according as I remembred them: whereas I was ſince freed from all theſe charges, and continual fears; and if any man in my abſence enquired for me, I have had no cauſe to fear that it was *Thomas Cox*, your *Agent*. Mr. *Bliſſets* ſon hath had no relation to me; neither might the *Marlborough* men, or their wives, expect any *Horſe*, *Hay*, *Money*, or *Plate* from me. Nay more, Sect. 11

ſhould I have chanc't to have met your *Doctor* on the way, I ſhould have given him (not ſuch *reverence* which he *looks for*, but) ſuch *reſpect* as I *thought fitting*: and upon ſome ſuch weighty account, I have been told that he was diſtaſted at me; and ſo was *Haman* the *Agagite* againſt *Mordecai*. Nay, (which is more then all) the very ſight of Mr. *Byfield* did not ſince affright me; but on him could I *look* with *pity or contempt*, whom my terrified brethren durſt not *think of* but *with trembling*.

Sect. 12. I have but little more to add at this time, and that is touching Mr. *Ludloe* of *Claringdon*, and Mr. *Hely* of *Sarum* Theſe I have told thee appeared at *Lavington*, having never ſate in buſineſs before: nor ever heard the *Depoſition* of one witneſs, which was taken by their *Clerk*; and therefore they could know nothing but by information from Mr. *Byfield* and his *friends* of *Marlborough*, and yet theſe ſentence againſt me. And it is like enough, that as they were *ſent for*, for this purpoſe, ſo were they *reſolved what to do* before they came out of door.

A fierce Decimator in the time of O. Protector.

Touching Mr. *Hely*, the wonder will not be ſo much to them that know him. But now for Mr. *Ludloe*, a *Gentleman*; that he ſhould in a matter of ſo great concernment, be ſo eaſie as to be drawn in againſt me, and ruin me in my livelihoood, my reputation, my profeſſion, my hopes, only upon the information of others, of ſuch others; I will ſay no more, but only

only thus; that if Mr. *Ludloe* had been in my condition, a *Miniſter* under queſtion, and I in his place, a *Commiſſioner* to give my vote; if *I* ſhould have *voted againſt him*, upon no better grounds then as yet appear to me, *he* hath *voted* againſt me, I ſhould think that men had done me no wrong, if they had made this report of me, *That it was pity, that a man no better qualified ſhould have ſo much power*; and that in my ſentence I had little regard either to *piety, prudence, conſcience*, or *juſtice*.

And now as touching Mr. *Hely*, I have been told, that a great exception which he had againſt me, was this; *That I was a Common Prayer man*. I think he could not have ſaid more in my *commendation*; like *Balaam, inſtead of curſing, he bleſſeth me*; he *condemns me* for having done my *duty*; and ſentenceth me to *deprivation* for *uſing* that *Book*, whereas by the *Law all Miniſters are liable to deprivation, becauſe they do not uſe it*. So that he *dooms* me being *innocent*, to that *ſentence* which the *Doctor* and the other *Miniſters* had *deſerved*. *Sect.* 13. 1. *Eliz.* 4 *cap.* 2.

The Tranſactions *at my Eighth time of appearing before them at the* Three Swans in Sarum. March 17. 1657.

Sect. 1. AND now 'tis like mine enemies had prevailed as far againſt me, as the *injuſtice* of *corrupt Judges*, the *malice of perjured witneſſes*, the *reſtleſſe impudence* of the *ſons of Belial* could deſire. Both *Commiſſioners*, *Doctors*, and *witneſſes* be like triumphing to think how much they had undone me. Notwithſtanding it were by *Candle light* that I were ſentenced, yet was there an order iſſued our the ſame *night* (I gueſs that *William Pinchin* and *Obad. Cheltenham*, were not more earneſt to deſire it, then the *Doctours* and *Marlborough* men were to ſatisfie them) impowering *Nich: Spenſer*, and *Joh. Harding* to the *ſequeſtratorſhip* of the profits of my *Vicarage*. Which ſuddainly they enter upon, and proceed in it with much diligence and terror. *Nich: Spenſer* eſpecially, traverſing over the *Pariſh*

Pariſh with a *Hony-pot* under his Coate, doubting (as I have been told he ſhould ſay) that he *ſhould not receive enough for his winter Toaſts.* And clearly my condition was then ſuch, that as *they* had taken a courſe that I ſhould not ſtay at *Box*, ſo there was a courſe taken by *others*, that I ſhould not know whether to go, or how to imploy my ſelf for a ſubſiſtance. For I was not in a capacity to receive any *fifts*, becauſe I was *unmarried*; and utterly diſabled to the performance of any *miniſterial* duties, ſo much as to *teach* a *private ſchool*, becauſe I was *ejected*. And poſſibly theſe conſiderations might encourage the *Commiſſioners*, *Doctors*, *witneſſes*, to act as they did, becauſe they had now an opportunity to undo me according to their deſires. *They* having deprived me of my preſent livelyhood, and the *Protectors Declaration* of *Nov.* 4. 1655. debarring me of all hopes of getting any livelyhood for the future.

Which *Perſon* and *Declaration* ſince I have mentioned, let me ask his *Marlborough Commiſſioners* and *Miniſters*, and was this the thing whereby he merited ſo highly of them, as that they in their *Addreſſes* to his Son muſt needs call him *Poliſhed ſhaft*? I believe that they were beholding to their *Doctors* for their expreſſion, and I believe again that they that *Doctours* took it out of *Iſai.* 49. 2. where the *Meſſiah* tells us *that the Lord had made him ſuch.* And certainly *Sect.* 2.

this so properly agreeing unto *him*, as not without blasphemie to be communicated to any *other*. These men were by their *Patrons* instructions, to eject men who were found guilty of *blasphemie*; and lo, I believe that a more *shamefull* and *gross piece* of *flatterie*, and *Blasphemie*, hath not been lately heard of then is this of their own. No nor in former ages neither, unless that of *Acts* 12. 22. come neer it. But yet (I would do these men what courtesie I can) I will suppose that by that expression *Polished shaft*, they mean no more but this; that although *propriè* or *primariò* none can be justly stiled so but the *Messiah*, yet *secundum significationem limitatam, & restrictam*, in a limited and qualified sense others may be called so likewise. As

Exod. 22. 28. *Kings* and *Judges* are called *Gods*, because they receive their *Commission* from *God*, and so ought to imploy themselves as in his business: the same word giving them *power* to act, and likewise *cautions* touching their behaviour in that power: and so proportionably might they borrow this Epithet *Polished shaft*, and bestow it upon their *Patriot*. But now (this being granted them) they must yet give me leave to ask them, and with what congruitie? and how do these words belong unto him? if I mistake not, the *Messiah* is there so called *because he was sent of God to subdue his, and the Churches enemies*. But now what enemies of *God*, or of the *Gospell* or of the *Church* did your *Protectour* subdue? Stile you

you him by this name because of *these ordinances*? if so, then you speak by contraries; therefore a *Polished shaft*, a *vanquisher of the Churches enemies*, because the *first undid*, and after *stopt* the *mouthes* of *hundreds* of *able*, and *orthodox Ministers*. And whereas the *Apostle* saith it *would be woe to him if did not preach the Gospell*, (which woe is still impendent upon all *Ministers* who shall wilfully neglect their duty,) this *Protectour* takes such an order, that it should be *woe unto* them if they did *preach* the *Gospell*. And yet a *Polished shaft*. The *Church* of *England* hath not greater or more bitter enemies then the *Jew* and the *Papist*. The one hating us because *Christian*, the other because *reformed*; and and yet both these had his favour. The *Jew* a kind of an invitation, neer of the *date* with this *Ordinance*: the other, *entertainment* in the *royall palace*, when as *hundreds* of *Ministers*, I believe truely *Godly*, and I think as *learned* as ever our *Church* enjoyed since the *Reformation*, were not only *thrust* out of their *livelyhoods*, but also *cast off from executing the Priests office unto the Lord*. In this more like to the *son* of *Nebat*, then the *son* of *God*. And whereas those *ejected Priests*, and *Levites* had the *land* of *Judah* to go to, and there find both a *livelyhood* and an *imployment*: This their *Polished shaft*, had so ordered it, (it is Mr. *Pryns* observation) *that they should have no imployment neither at home or abroad*. Nay more, (to put them and their families upon

2 Chron. 11. 14.

Narat. p. 56, 57.

a neceſſitie of ſtarving) he not *only enacted* that they ſhould have *nothing* to *ſubſiſt* by, but alſo *made* it *penal* after the moſt *ignominious manner*, if they went about to beg. Which (ſayes the ſame Mr. *Pryn* in the ſame place,) was ſuch a *tranſcendent Barbariſme*, *impiety*, and *high way* to *extirpate* religion (as *pious*, *learned Arch-biſhop Vſher* told him when he mediated for their libertie, as he told Mr. *Pryn* and others with tears, which broke his heart ſoon after) as the *Pope* and *Jeſuits* themſelves could not have invented the like; and exceeded all *forraign* perſecutions againſt *Proteſtant Miniſters* in *Piemont*, *Bohemia*, and *Sileſia* by *Popiſh Princes* being of a different religion, but he a *pretended proteſtant zealot*. *This is the Marlborough mens poliſhed ſhaft.*

Sect. 3. And whereas they have none to liken him to, but the *Holy* one of *God*, the beſt; I can hardly find one ſo *wicked* as to be joined in compariſon with him, unleſs it were *Jeroboam* the ſon of *Nebat*, who out of a *politick reſpect* (like unto his) thruſt out the *Prieſts* and *Levites*, both from their ſervice, and their livelihoods; and after *he* had *taught* them the *mode* of *ſacrificing*, ſuted himſelf with *Prieſts* of the *loweſt* of the *people*, or the the *Sanhedrim* at *Jeruſalem*, who *commanded the Apoſtles not to teach at all, or ſpeak in the name of Jeſus.* The *Apoſtate Julian*, although he be looked upon as a bitter enemie of the *Church* of *God*, although he *perſecuted* them, although he *ſcoffed*

Act. 4. 18.

at

at them; yet I read not that he silenced them. One of the worst things which he is reported to have done against them, is, *That he forbade them the publique Schools, and studies of Arts and Tongues*: which Decree an *Historian* (principled like himself) stiles *Inclemens, obruendum perenni silentio*, mercilesse, uncivil, and to be buryed in everlasting silence; and yet these *Marlborough Addressors* think not a name (fitting only for the *Son* of *God*) too good for their *Patron*, who had made a decree against *Christian Ministers*, far more barbarous then was that of *Julian*. 'Tis true indeed, in the close of that *Ordinance*, he hath a kind of a qualifying *Proviso*, and talks of *tenderness* to be used, but it is under such *conditions*, that if men should *observe* them, they must cease to be what they ought, *Godly indeed*. And whereas *he* talks of *tenderness*, many a one in this Land of ours can witness what his *tendernesses* have been; and have found the words of the wiseman verified in him, *The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel*, Prov. 12. 10. *Amian. Marcel.*

And indeed this Declaration was of such a *tender* and *Godly* strain, that shortly after my *Ejection*, some sitting as a *Parliament* (although the far greater part chosen by the Countrey were by him excluded) thought it not fit that it should be continued, and therefore by not *confirming* of it, they *null* it; and not only so, but also they make further provision, *That* *Sect.* 4.

all ejected Miniſters whatſoever, married or unmarryed, not having 30. l. per annum, or 500. l. in perſonal eſtate, might be capable of receiving fifts: which fifts the Commiſſioners by vertue of that Act, were required to allow them, which I believe was no good news either to the Marlborough men or their Doctors.

Sect. 5. Having ſuch grounds for my claim, I repair to Sarum, about March 17. 1657. for the Aſſize being there held about that time, I had ſome confidence that I ſhould find the Marlborough men and their Doctors there; nor was I diſappointed of my expectation, for there I find them at the three Swans, ſitting in Mr. Byfields lodging: and being told that my application to them muſt be by way of Petitioning, I imployed one, who was a kind of a Clerk to them, to draw it up in their uſual form, which he did in theſe words; Sheweth, That your Petitioner being by your lawful authority diſplaced from, &c. which word lawful, a friend of mine (being ſomewhat acquainted with their proceedings) did ſomewhat ſtomach at: which diſlike being perceived, their Clerk (belike knowing that lawful was not a word which belonged to his Maſters the Commiſſioners & Doctors) was content to ſtrike out, and ſo it was, Being by your Authority diſplaced, &c. wherein according to the Act I moved 1. for a fifts. And 2. That to be allowed from the time of my Ejectment, which was above a year and half before. And 3. (in regard I lived in Bath, which was in another County, and a days journey

journey from any place where they usually late) *I moved that this might be setled at this their present sitting.* In order whereunto I had *then* some with me, who proffer'd themselves to be *Tenants* to my *Vicaridge* at 100 *l. per annum*; for the payment whereof there would have been better security given then 3. or 4. of the *Marlborough men* should have given out of that estate which is *lawfully* theirs. Now Mr. *Chamb.* hearing *Henry Sheyler* (for so was his name that made this proffer) promising 100 *l.* and having heedfully ey'd him all the time, *asks* (belike fearing that the *Commissioners* should have forgotten so necessary a question) *Whether he were sufficient?* 'tis like he meant, to *pay the rent*, which he profer'd. And here to see how these *Doctors*, Mr. *Byfield*, & Mr. *Chambers*, concur'd in *questions fundamentals. What's your Living worth a year, quoth Mr.* Byfield? *Is he sufficient, to pay the rent, quoth Mr.* Chambers? This business did in no wise concern Mr. *Chambers*, unless he mistook the *Examination* of the *sufficiency* of the Tenant, for an *Examination* of the *sufficiency* of the *Minister*. But it may be that the *old* business of this *leaving* Claverton *and going to* Pewsie, did yet stick in the *Doctors* stomach, and therefore having undone me in the *gross* before, he now *improves his spite*, to undo me by *retail*. Let me here observe something unto thee touching this *Doctor*, and such as himself. When *they are* at any time questioned touching their *leaving* of their *first* livings, (which many of them have done)

done) these *livings* being of but a *small* value, and then *intruding* themselves into other *Livings*, and the *Livings* of *others*, *per fas*, *aut nefas*, right or wrong; and *those* such which are of a *greater value* then their own Livings, which they had repudiated: or when they labor for *augmentations*, or *unions* of *two* or *three Parishes* into *one*, (these men will *abhor Pluralities* as odious as *bigamie*) and all for their own *profit*: in excuse for their *shifting* and *changing*, or *consolidating*, they will tell you either that the former *air* did not *agree* with them; or that by the exchange, they might *win more souls*, or (with more truth and plainess) that they were even enforced to this change for *a comfortable maintenance for themselves and theirs*, which their own Livings could not supply them with. And yet these very men (the *Doctor* for one) have no such *weights* or *measures* for others. And when I say *others*, I mean *Ministers*, and *such* (I speak not of my self) who are every whit as *deserving* as themselves: whom they can be content, not only *unjustly* to thrust out of all, but also to *defraud* of that small pittance, a *fifth*, which the Modern laws hath allowed them; *measuring* unto us by the *small Ephah*, but *weighing* to themselves by the *great Shekel*. The *Doctor* must give me leave to tell him, that I have read of such who were of this judgment, that *Right and Property to a thing were founded in grace*; and that all men were *usurpers* who were not of the *Godly*. Now we know well to whom this Epithet *Godly*, hath been by some men

men *appropriated* in these latter years, and for what *purposes*: and therefore might the *Doctor* be so fierce against me, as one (I being not of their *Mark*) on whom even an *Alms* were cast away.

Mr. *Blisset* had his fling at us, at this time when *Henry Sheyler offered* 100 *l. per annum* for the *Vicaridge*; saying to this purpose, that Mr. *Stern* did not make above 90 *l. per annum* of it. It seems that Mr. *Blisset* was well acquainted with Mr. *Sterns receits*, and I doubt not but that he and his son *William*, have been well acquainted with some of Mr. *Sterns disbursements* likewise. But at this time at *Sarum* there was nothing done, for notwithstanding I had procured one who proffer'd himself to be a tenant to my means under such a rent, and in regard of the distance I then lived at, and the uncertainty of the time and place of their sitting, I urged for a dispatch at that time, yet as to my business nothing would be done, I being put off only with this answer, *that I should come before them at some other time and place*, whereof Mr. *Stern should have notice, that they might hear what* exceptions *he had to make to my demands*. This was a business which did not *please* them, and therefore they *delay* me, on purpose (belike) to *tire* me out: or in case I would be *clamorous*, they would so order it, that my *expences* in *waiting* on them, should amount to as much as the *fifts*, which they intended to allow me. *Sect. 6.*

The

The Tranſactions *at my ninth, time of appearing before them at the* Angel *in* Marlbo- April 28. 1658.

Sect. 1. I Was told the next morning, that their next ſitting would be at *Marlborough*, and that (if I would have any thing with them) I muſt appear before them there, where (notwithſtanding the *nomination* of that *place* gave me an aſſurance of the *juſtice* which I ſhould find) I appear according to an Order I received from their agent *Thomas Cox*: They had by this time obtained an *addition* to the number of both *Commiſſioners*, and *Miniſters*, ſo that now they needed not ſend, or go to *Sarum* for it, they having a *Quorum* of their own neerer hand. Upon this *additional* account there ſate at this time Mr. *John Keyns* of *Marlborough*, and another, who then lived in the Pariſh of *Bradford*, being one who hath varyed his name ſo often, that it is hard for me to ſay, what is the right; but at that time he wrote his name *John Randolph*.

Mr.

Mr. *Stern* according to *ſummons* appeared there likewiſe, bringing with him *Nicholas Spenſer*, and *William Pinchin* ſo often before-mentioned, all whoſe buſineſs was to make what exceptions they could to defraud me of a *fifth*, and a very gracious ear they had from the *Commiſſioners*. Mr. *Sterns* firſt exception was, that *I had carryed away many doors, which legally I could not remove.* To which I anſwered, That *I had removed no more then I brought, and that in caſe I had exceeded, he was to ſeek his remedy elſewhere, this being no obſtruction to me for a fifth.* Upon this Mr. *Byfield* begins a very *learned Lawyerlike* diſcourſe of what he had heard in that *Caſe*, and that was to this purpoſe, *That in caſe the doors were hanged in Jimmals ſo as not to be removed without drawing of a nail, that then legally they could not be removed, but if only in hooks, that then they might*: in which judgement of his all parties did acquieſce: and indeed this ſpeech of his minded me of ſome words which were frequent in the mouth of my predeceſſor Mr. *Coren* (a man too much given to ſutes of law) who would often ſay, *That he was better read in the Acts of Parliament then he was in the Acts of the Apoſtles.* Another exception which they had againſt me, was *non obedience* to their *Orders*, and this was made by *Nicholas Spenſer*, and to me (who asked what order it was) *he anſwers, It was an Order which he had received from the Commiſſioners but that he had left it at home*, but added that he ſhewed me Sect. 2.

another *Order* which I would not deliver back again to him; this *order* I had then about me and a very wise one it was, for I was *required at my peril to deliver up possession by such a time; and yet no person named to whom I should deliver it up*, but this, as nothing to the purpose, was waved *likewise*. Another exception which they took was, that I was worth 500 *l.* and this was managed by Mr. *Stern*, and *W. Pinchin M. Stern affirming* that he had *heard* so and *William Pinchin* affirming the like: possibly if he had been called upon another time, *William Pinchin* would have *fetcht trip*, and if need were would have *sworn* that he had known that I had been worth 500 *l.* but these exceptions signified but little, and therefore were soon waved likewise. The next thing we fall upon was the valuation: I have *told* the *former*ly, that I brought one with me to *Sarum* who profferd a 100. *l. per annum* for it, which profer they were resolved not to accept of. And therefore they all imploy their united Forces to beat down the value of. Yet notwithstanding *Nich: Spenser* and *William Pinchin* had not long before valued my *Vicarage* at 86. *l per annum*, at the parish rate, yet are they not now ashamed to say it was *too much*, *John Ranoulph* giving them this *hint* that it *did usuallie pinch on the Parsons side*. These men *W. P.* and *N. S.* having the same *measures* for *me* as some men say they have for their *customers*, a *greater* and a *less*. If I am to pay a *Tax*, then the *Vicaridge* is worth

86. *l per*

80. *l per annum*, but if I am *to* receive a *fifths* then it is not worth so much. Nor did these *Commissioners* that I could perceive take any *notice* of this; unless it were to *countenance* it, although in thus saying they manifested themselves to be *such* as *honest* men should *abhor* to be, and *just* men should *abhor* to countenance: but *honestie* and *justice* were vertues neither in *use* nor *credit* either with the *Commissioners*, *Doctours*, or *witnesses*. One thing more touching these men *N. S.* and *W. P.* it is this: It may be that it was not only to injure me that they thus laboured to beat down the price of my living; they might in this have some aim unto themselves: for so it was that *N. S.* and *W. P.* shortly after this become tenants *to M. Stern* for it, and therefore tis like they did so much undervalue it, that they might rent it at the same rent.

During this debate touching the valuation *Sect.* 3. *M. Byfield* sends for a large *paper* booke written, which afterwards I understood was his *Domer-day* book wherein he had the *value* of all the *livings* in the *County*: and turning to *Box* he finds it valued at 80. *l per Annum*, and so he stints all further debate touching the valuaion, because (as he said) that *valuation* was given in *upon Oath*: soon after which he falls to reading of that *Ordinance* of *Parliament*, which allowed a *fifths* to such *ejected Ministers* who *were married*, for *a maintenance of their Wives and Children*, and *then asks me whether I demanded a fifts by vertue of*

that? to which I replyed with ſome indignation, that he *knew* that *I did* not, being *unmarried*. But I added further, that I *demanded a fifths* by *vertue of an act made* 1656. Upon which words of mine he *aſks me whether I had that act or not*? my anſwer was *that I had it*, and ſeeing me about to pull it out and read it, he add's *that they had it too*, and thereupon *amongſt* an *heap* of *Acts*, *Ordinances*, *Orders*, *Depoſitions*, *Charges*, a *great Tobacco Box*, *pipes*, *candle* and *candleſticks* he finds it out, and reads it. Now to ſee the diſpoſition of this *pretious ſcribe*, I think we do him no wrong to *conjecture* that he therefore propoſed that *Queſtion* to me, *Have you the Act*? with a purpoſe to have *defeated* me of a *fifths* if I had not had it by me. His ſpite towards me continues ſtill; had it been to *do* me a *diſcourteſie*, doubtleſs that *Act* had been in a readineſs, but now it was purpoſeſly *ſuppreſt*, and had never been *produced* but upon *conſtraint*, to let us know thus much, that *voluntarily* or with *a good will*, he would do nothing but *miſchief*: and that when he did any thing which was right, he was even enforced to it.

Sect 4 And ſince he is gone, and that this was the laſt time that ever I ſaw him, I ſhall ſay no more but this *of* him (had he been living till this time, I ſhould *have* ſaid much more to him) which I found by mine own experience, that he ſeemed to be a man of a *ſtirring ſpirit*, and one that *propoſed* no other *end* unto *himſelf*, but *himſelf*, nor *ſcrupling* any thing which

he

he conceived *conducible* to that end, his desires (for so much as I could discern in him) being rather that he might be *feared* then *loved*. I seldome hear of any *courtesie* which he did to any, unless it were by *accident*, and out of a *cross* humour to others, who would have done some *mischief* without his consent: so that it may be said that he *disliked* not the *injustice*, but this, that *any* should do it without his *approbation*. I seldome come *into* the company but that he is *much* spoken of, and yet *very little* which is commendable; and since gone I think scarce missed, or lamented, or wished for by any, unless by such as the men of *Marsh*: or those who have *injoyed other mens livings*, and desire *to keep them*: and as touching his *lay Commissioners* of *Marlborough*, I believe that they *loved* him as much as he *loved them*, and that was *very little*: and yet they kept a fair correspondency, which doubtless was because they could not be without each other, and so their mutual respects grew not from *affection* but *interest*. I cannot charge him with receiving either *Bribes* or *gratuities*, as *hay*, *horse*, *plate*, *money*: possibly it was not *covetousnesse* which made him to be so *mischievous*, but an *imbred malice* in him. If I had known that a *present* would have prevailed with him, or had I been minded to have *practised* with him that way, I should have courted him with a *handsome Quantity* of *Spanish Tobacco*, to which he was the most *immoderately* and *scandalously* addicted, that ever I saw any man.

And yet (considering how *many Livings* he had got into; how many *Ministers* he had *displaced*, and even *starved*, and that in his *translations* he ever had an eye to the *Barn*, *Glebe*, and *flock of Sheep*, more then to the *Church*) it may be conjectured, that he was of like *Passions* with his Brethren, of whom every Countryman can now observe, that their religious cry hath been only for self-interest, that their *removes* are for their *advantage* in revenue, and that their *Gain* is their *Godliness*. All which notwithstanding, I have been told that he *died* but *poor*, unless it were in *Books*, of which (and of very choice ones) he left a handsome *Library*; and perchance for this very thing he *died the poorer*, it being thought that he came by his *Books* as *lawfully* as he did by his *Living*. To speak in short, I look upon him as a man who was *mischievously* bent against every body, yea, and that, all things duly considered, he was more *mischievous* to his *friends* then his *foes*: for (and here let me yoke up some of his fellow *Commissioners* and *Ministers* to him) I believe that many a one of their *Witnesses* in my business had not *contracted* upon their *souls* those *horrid crimes* of *perjury* and *subornation*, &c. had it not been for their *countenance* and *incouragement*. I believe that were he living, he would confess, that he did me as much *mischief* as he *could*; and yet I believe that one of the same *Tribe* did me more, although he were more *secret* in it. If you desire to know any thing touching his *Religion*, I think

think you must enquire of *Hugh Peters*, or *Philip Nye*, whom it is like (had he lived till this time) as he had been a *confederate* with them in their *Traiterous* and *mischievous actings*, he might have *born company* in their *punishments*.

But to return to mine own business, having withdrawn some time, that the *Commissioners* might consider of it, I was shortly called in again, and told by Mr. *Bayly* (for he was *Chairman* at that time) that in *lieu of a Fifths*, *they had allowed me* 120 *l.* per annum *to be paid half yearly*; *the first payment to be made on the* 29. *of* September *then next following*, *which was more then two years after I was ejected*, *and so to be paid by* 60 *l. every half year*, *on* 25. *of* March, *and* 29. *of* Septemb. *until further order*. I presum'd that they intended not this as any curtesie to me, and therefore expected no thanks, being indeed worse towards me then the more *civil* sort of *Theives*, of whom I have heard, that having *rob'd* men of *all*, they have yet upon their *complaint restored* them again a considerable part of it For this Order, Mr. *Blissets* son *William* would needs have 2 *s.* 6 *d.* which I told him, was more then I should make of it. And since I have mentioned this Order, let me observe something unto thee, touching the *Commissioners* who made it: and all shall be to acquaint thee with the *fittingness* of these men to be *imployed* in *matters* of the *meanest* trust; and how little they regard a *Parliamentary* power, unless it be to *serve themselves*

Sect. 5.

ſelves by it. For 1. they were by that *Act* to allow me a *Fifths*, and yet all things conſidered, they did not allow me a *Tenths*. 2. This they were to allow me, if not from the time of my *Ejectment*, yet from the time that the Act *commenced*, which was in *Septemb.* 1656. and yet they allow me nothing till two *years* after. 3. They were by this *Act* to ſettle this allowance to me *during my life*, whereas this was only till *further order*. And indeed this ſame *until further order*, was in much uſe with them; and I believe that it brought them in many a round ſum. If any were *diſcharged*, it was only *until further order*: If any *Fifths* were granted it was *until further order*; they ever kept us in a dependance and aw of them: and doubtleſs mens *good behaviour* was lookt upon, accordingly as *they* or their *wives* were remembred: and indeed, as to my ſelf, this ſame *until further order*, coſt me and my friends (conſidering how many journeys we made, how great expences we were at) even as much as the *Fifths* came to, for we made one *journey* to *Sarum*, and two to *Marlborough*, before we could receive a penny. I remember that Mr. *Bliſſet*, when the order was read, ſayes (having pull'd down his *Hat*, and looking upon the *Table*) *That I had put Mr.* Stern *to a great deal of charge*, and ſeem'd to intimate, that therefore they allowed me no more for a *Fifths*. And here to ſee how this *Treaſurer* chargeth me with his crimes: for it was *he* and his *ſon* who had put Mr. *Stern* to ſo much charge, and not I. For——

Beſides

Beside the twenty pound which Mr. *Blisset* had from him, of which I have spoken already, they (as Mr. *Stern* reported it) demanded another round sum of him for their *incident charges* for thrusting me out: And upon this occasion Mr. *Stern* reported it, when *Michaelmas* was come, and that small pittance which they allotted me for a *fifth* became due, I implyed some friends to demand it in my name, and to receive it to my use, by vertue of that Order; to whom Mr. *Stern* makes his answer to this purpose, *That he excepted not against the Order, but that he expected that I should pay a fift part to all Taxes wherewithal he was charged*: and being demanded what those charges were, he answers, *That the Commissioners demanded* 15. l. *of him for their incident charges in thrusting me out, of which he expected that I should pay a fifth part.* Now I believe that Mr. *Stern* would never have spoken those words, unless his dear friends of *Marlborough* had hinted some such thing unto him; and that they would have stood by him in it, and have made it good: for notwithstanding when my *Brother* had told them of it; they seemed to make *strange* of it, and to be unwilling to own it, yet all this might be, because they were then under another *influence*, their *Polished shaft*, *Oliver*, was dead; and his son *Richard*, *their Plant of Renown*, had called a *Parliament*, which was at that time sitting, amongst whom there were many *persons of honor*; who (as I have been told) had a resolution

Sect. 6.

resolution to *question* these *Commissioners*, both touching their *power* and their *actings*; which was enough to make the *Marlborough* men to tremble, and possibly therefore they change their *Note*, because the *times* were changed.

Sect. 7. I must tell thee likewise, that some of the *witnesses* who were so fierce against me, (reflecting belike on their own merits, and learning of the *Commissioners*) demanded and received from Mr. *Stern*, as he hath told me, considerable sums for their *incident* charges which they had been at in appearing so often against me, to swear me out of my living: conceiving belike, that if the *Commissioners* were *so well paid* for their *injustice*, then might they expect to be *paid* for their *perjuries*: and (considering the conditions of some of them) I believe that they did not (as some *poor*, *cheap Knights* of the *Post*) swear at a low rate, or for a few *six pences* or *shillings*. *William Pinchin* doubtless knew how to *value* his *Oaths* as well as he did his *bread* and *cheese*; and much according to those *Souldiers* in the *Gospel*, that would not be *hired* to bear *false witness*, but for *large money*.

Sect. 8. And clearly those words of Mr. *Stern*, that he expected that *I should pay a fifths of their incident charges*, put me in mind of something which I had read of *Phocion* of *Athens*, who being *unjustly* condemned to death, was afterward inforced to *buy* his poyson, and to be at

Plut. in vit.

charges

charge for his *own Execution*: these men serving me in the same manner: for (as not content to take away all that I had) they would have made me *pay them* for *undoing* of me. And as in this, so in another particular likewise: for (as thinking they had not enough undone, in turning me out of my *house*, on the *reparations* whereof, and the *wounds*, I had laid out neer an hundred pounds) Mr. *Stern* prefers a *Bill* against me in the *Exchequer*, (I guess being incouraged thereunto by these men) for *dilapidations*, to the value of more then I think he is honestly worth. Note I cannot think that Mr. *Stern* ever would have prefer'd such a *Bill* against me, unless it had been upon *their incouragement*; nor do I believe that *they* would have *incouraged* him thereunto, unless they had thought with the wise ones in the *Psalm*, *That they should never be moved*; their long *success* in their wickednesses having possest them with that *delusion*, that *God did own them for his*; and from this consideration, that the *Divine* power made use of them as the *instruments* of his *displeasure*, to correct others by, (which sober men take to be an argument of his *displeasure*, rather then of his *favour*) they forthwith sooth themselves up that they were his *beloved* ones. These men little dreaming that their foundation was laid upon *Oliver*: and that *Oliver's* foundation was laid upon the most *unparallel'd* wickedness that this Land was ever guilty of: and that a *building* raised upon wickedness is never without a *woe*; and that

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the higher such a building is carryed up, the *neerer* it is to ruin.

Sect. 9. I told thee but a little before, that *Mr. Stern* prefer'd a *Bill* in the *Exchequer* against me for *dilapidations*: I must tell thee now, that upon my answer he forbears to proceed, as likewise the reason why he let his sute fall. When the *Bill* was *dismist* the *Court*, for want of prosecution, I had a *subpena* for cost for *non-prosecution*, which an *Attorney* serving upon him, asks him, *What his reason was that* (since he had begun his sute) *he did not go on with it?* To whom Mr. *Stern* makes his answer to this purpose; That the *times* were *various*, every *moneth* bringing forth some change, and that this was it which made him give over; for, said he, should it come to that pass, that *Carolus Dei gratia* should be written instead of *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, actum esset*, all his hopes would perish; from which words of his it is evident enough, that he himself *distrusted* his own *case*, if *proceedings* should come to be *legal*; and that all the hopes he had that his *sute* should *succeed*, was only from this, that *wickedness* should still *prevail*; for that then he might expect to find such *Barons* in the *Exchequer*, as he had found *Commissioners* at *Marlborough*.

Sect. 10. I have not yet done with this 15 *l. charges incident* (and when I have done with that I have done withall) for let me now observe unto

to thee, what a *beneficial* trade these *Marlborough* men made of it, let the wind sit which way it would. I think in this particular, out-doing the *Jews* themselves, for they would so far *improve* their opportunities, that *fall* out what *could*, they would turn it to their advantage: for were it that *Ministers* were *summoned*, or not *summoned* before them, *ejected* or not *ejected*, yet, be the *chance* what it could be, it *proved* alwayes to be a *winning cast* for them.

I shall say but little of the former, because it never was mine own case, yet there are those whom I know, that can tell you how often *Tho. Cox* their agent visited them, and what his business was, what dangers he sets before them, and what advice he gives to prevent or remove those dangers; in brief the business is, *Una eademq; manus* —— some *quarterly* feeling, he must be *paid* for *preventing* that *storm* which was of his *own* raising. And then for those who had been *summoned* to appear before them, I have told thee that all the *discharge* which they had, was *only until further Order*; which must needs keeps them in a *continual fear*, and force them to a *continual charge*: *nothing* was too *good*, *nothing* too *much* for these *Marlborough* men and their *wives*. And now as touching such who were in my condition *ejected*, they had that *Art*, that if they could get nothing by *keeping* of them in, they would be sure to get *by turning* them out. And here I can speak upon mine own knowledge, 20 *l. Mr. Blisset* had (I know

know not for what elſe) for putting *Mr. Stern* in, and 15. *l.* they demanded, for *thruſting* me out; 'tis good being a hang-man upon ſuch terms; and queſtionleſs this was enough to make me *ſcandalous*, becauſe I would not *daub*, and they were *reſolved* to get by me one way or other. I have read of ſeveral perſons, who in this particular, have been ſomewhat like theſe *Commiſſioners*; but the fitteſt *example* for them, is that of ſome *Sheep-ſtealers* that I have heard of, who have been ſo *miſchievouſly thieviſh, that they would deſtroy the ſheep for no other cauſe, but that they might have the wool.* And now one would think that they had undone *me* as much as poſſible, and yet *Mr. Stern* hath told me, that *he* is a greater looſer then my ſelf, that I am 400*l.* the worſe, but that he is 500 *l.* the worſe; ſo that to me he ſeems to have met with ſome of ſuch a diſpoſition whereof I have heard a *Miller* to be, who *ſtole five pecks* out of a *Buſhel*. And if it be as *Mr. Stern* hath reported it, *Mr. Bliſſet* hath not been wanting to himſelf in this buſineſs; for *he* hath not only made the *Vicaridge of Box* bring him in *plentiful returns* to his *Treaſury* for the preſent; but alſo he hath ſo providently provided it, that it ſhall yield him a *crop* after we are *dead* and gone; for as *Mr. Stern* told me, he *hath gotten the next preſentation to the place*: ſo that now it is not to be wondred, that he *ruin'd* me firſt, and (after he had *received* his *largeſs* from him) cared not how ſoon *Mr. Stern* were gone from

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the place, in order whereunto it was endeavoured, that he ſhould be made weary of it; becauſe his turn was next: and ſo upon *Mr. Sterns* avoidance, he might make uſe and benefit of his *Preſentation*. Theſe, *Mr. Biſſet*, are *Circumſtances that ſupercede all former Circumſtances whatſoever.*

And now by way of Concluſion, I had thought to have *addreſſed* my ſelf to our renowned *Patriots* now ſitting in the *high Court of Parliament*, and humbly to have begged this piece of juſtice from them, *That they (who call greater Oppreſſors to an account, and force them to caſt up their ill gotten morſels, the incomes of their oppreſſions, bribery, perjury, ſubornations,* and *the price of bloud*) *would not think it below them to look upon ſuch men as theſe*: in their *places* indeed much *inferior*, but to their *power* altogether as *miſchievous*. Nor ſhould I have any aim or end of mine own in it; neither *reparation* nor *ſatisfaction* for my loſſes ſuſtained, ſhould I have *looked* for. Only this I conceive moſt equitable, that if *I were content to ſit down quietly by my loſſes unjuſtly ſuſtained*, then *ſhould they be inforced to ſurrender up* thoſe *gains*, which they *have unjuſtly got*: it would be too great a temptation to future ages to make them adventure on the like, if they ſhould hear that ſuch who were guilty of ſuch *horrid* crimes, ſhould yet go cleerly off with the *profits* of their *wickedneſs*. But ſince his *Majeſties gracious par-*

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this may extend even to *these*; I shall not go about either to enumerate their crimes, or to aggravate them. May they injoy (if it be lawful to wish so) the returns of their injustice. May *Mr. Blisset* and his *Marlborough friends* thrive better by their *Commissionership*, then they are likely to do by their purchase at *Purton*. Yet this may we say safely of them, although we can call them to no other account; that they are such as those of whom the *Poet* speaks:

Juv. Sat. 1. *Criminibus debent hortos, prætoria, mensas.*

They ow to their own Crimes for their estates. And further let me tell them, that notwithhanding the *Querela*, the *Question* or complaint against them, for those crimes be taken away; yet that the *Culpa*, the *guilt* of them still remains upon their souls. Yea and further yet let me add, that notwithstanding the *Querela* were remitted unto them *without* their *repentance*, or perchance so much as their desire, yet that their *Culpa*, their *guilt* will not.

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